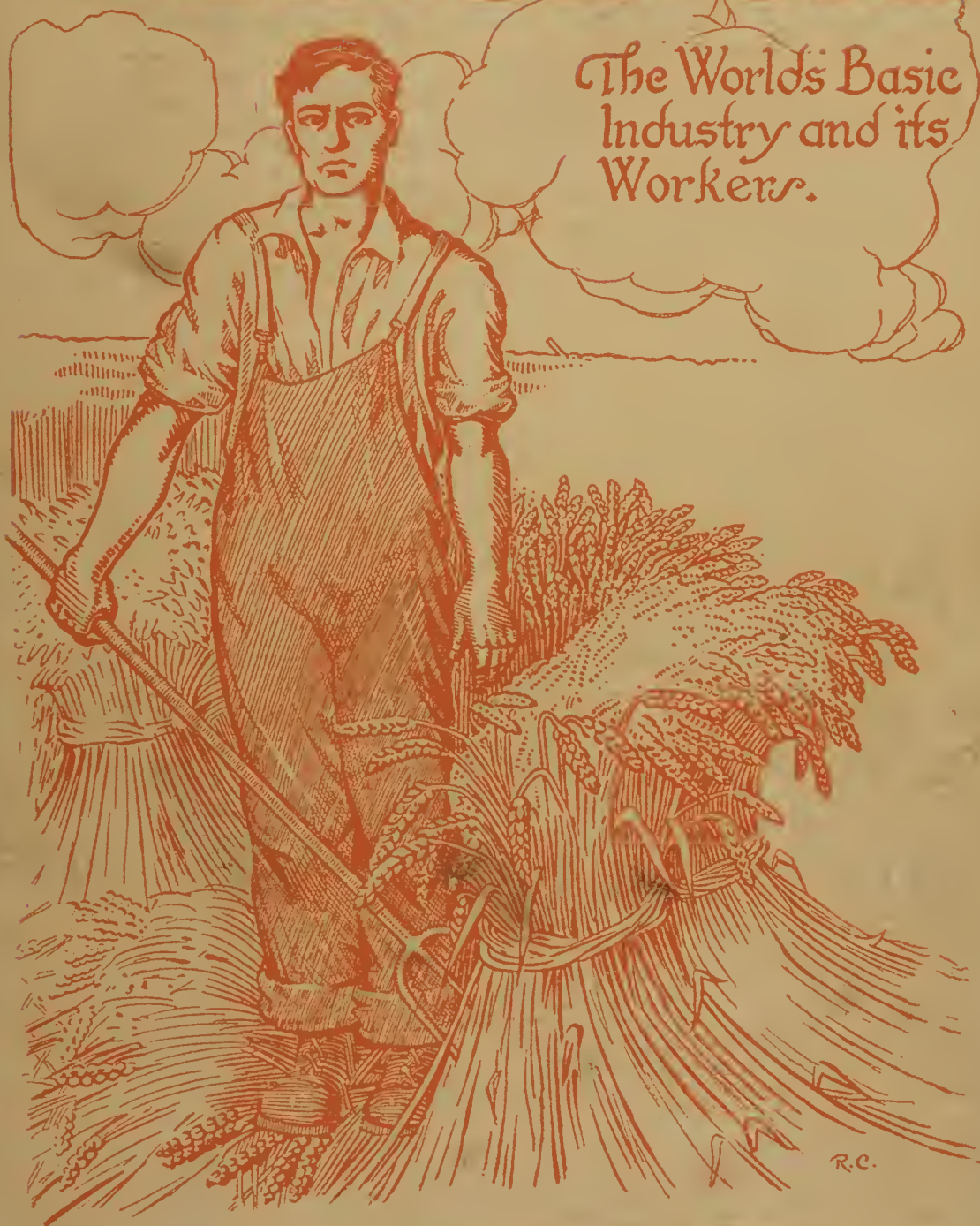


AGRICULTURE

The World's Basic
Industry and its
Workers.



Compiled by

The Bureau of Industrial Research

1001 West Madison St.

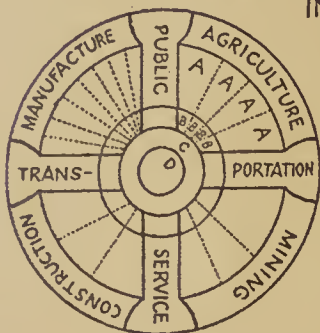
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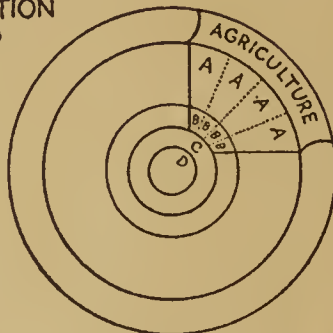
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SIMPLIFIED CHART

FOR
INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION
(AGRICULTURE)



SHOWING ALL INDUSTRIES

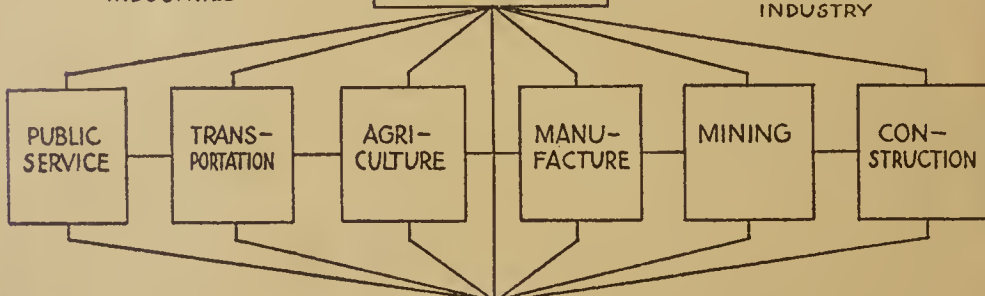


SHOWING AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY

A. DEPARTMENTAL DIVISIONS
B. DEPT. ADMINISTRATION
C. GEN. RECRUITING UNION
D. GEN. ADMINISTRATION

A

GENERAL
ADMINISTRATION
ONE BIG
INDUSTRIAL UNION



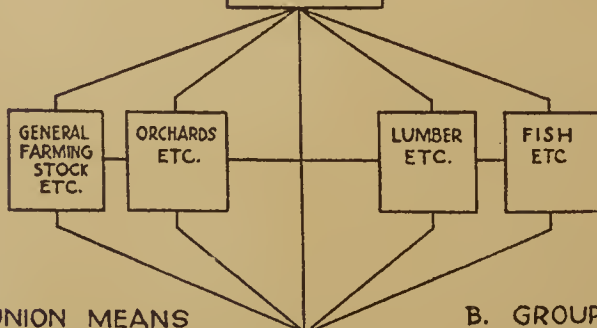
ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL
UNION OF
AGRICULTURAL
WORKERS

GENERAL
RECRUITING
UNION

A. GROUPING *ALL* THE
WORLD'S WORKERS
INTO ONE BIG UNION
SEE DETAILED ONE-
BIG UNION CHART
FOR FULL PARTICULARS

B

ONE BIG UNION
HEADQUARTERS
DEPT. OF
AGRICULTURE



ONE BIG UNION MEANS
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
ALL POWER VESTED IN
THE RANK AND FILE

GENERAL
RECRUITING
UNION

B. GROUPING OF *AGRI-
CULTURAL* WORKERS
INTO ONE BIG UNION

Lonia Lakti



AGRICULTURE

The World's Basic Industry and its Workers

THE Agricultural industry is the mother of all industries. Any programme of social change which does not include the agricultural worker is doomed to failure. After all is said and done the fact remains, that the cities are dependant upon the farms for food. Most of the world's industrial workers are segregated in cities, but without agricultural products these cannot carry on the multiple processes of modern production. Upon the solution of the problem of agriculture depends, to a large extent, the success of the impending Change in human society.

The purpose of this booklet is to sketch briefly the history of this great industry and its workers. In times like these it is vitally necessary for the agricultural proletariat to become conscious of its past history, its present duty and its historic mission tomorrow. In other words to familiarize itself with its position in modern society.

It may interest you to know that this booklet is not the work of any individual. It is the joint product of a large number of harvest "stiffs" who got the material together by means of a questionnaire in order to give agricultural and other workers the benefit of their knowledge and experience. It is your book as well as theirs. Improvements and suggestions for future editions will be welcome at all times.

The harvest "stiff" is something new under the sun. He is an agricultural worker, and yet he is migratory! The ancient slave was chained in the fields, the fuedal serf was sold with his master's lands, the homesteader and farmer have always been attached to the soil. How then has the agricultural proletariat become migratory? The answer is, *the machine process*. The invention of labor-displacing machinery has wiped out entire trades. It has driven countless skilled workers into the ranks of the unskilled. From this element the vast army of harvest work-

ers is yearly recruited. These men are migratory because the very nature of their employment makes them so. California, for instance, needs but 50,000 "hands" for ordinary agricultural work. During the harvest season, however, over 300,000 are required. These are presumably supposed to evaporate into thin air when their services are no longer necessary. Similar conditions prevail pretty generally throughout the great middle western harvest belt and the United States generally.

TENANTS AND MIGRATORIES

Thousands of these migratory "stiffs" follow the fields of ripening grain across the continent each season. With their strong hands they garner the foodstuffs that feed the millions of other workers whose labor keeps the stupendous machinery of production and distribution in operation. Farm laborers and tenancy are the outstanding features of agriculture under capitalism. In 1914 the census reported 12,690,000 as the number following agricultural pursuits. One half of these are farm laborers—mostly migratory. The Industrial Relations Commission reports that from two to three millions more are tennants. Frederick Howe states that 37 per cent of all farms in 1910 were operated by others than owners. He adds, "In some parts of the country from 60 to 70 per cent of the farms are cultivated by the tenants for non-resident owners." Judging from these figures two thirds of the farmers of this country are reduced to tenancy and wage labor. The America that assured freedom to the frontiersman has nothing but serfdom to give to her sons of today.

The migratory harvest workers pour into the harvest fields each season. Whence they come and where they go nobody seems to know or care. Society does not even take the trouble to transport them from place to place; they are compelled to "beat their way." They are referred to as "tramps" or "hoboes" and their efforts to organize are met with brutal persecution. Yet, without the labor of these workers the crops of the nation could not be harvested. As much as they are belittled and despised these men have done more for the welfare of the human race than all the kings, politicians and soldiers that ever lived.

Every worker should know something about the history and mechanism of the industry in which he is employed as well as industry in general. He should realize the importance of his daily labor in supplying his fellow men with the necessities of life. He should not feel that he is a mere individual atom in an incomprehensible industrial process; but rather he and his fellow workers are important and indispensible parts of the productive system upon which the race is absolutely dependant. He should be proud of the fact that he is a citizen of industry.

Agricultural labor is the most ancient and honorable of any labor in the world. Agricultural workers have a history that is more replete with romance and adventure than any work of fiction. The harvest "stiff" of today is a brother of the serf who tilled the sunny fields under the beetling castle of the feudal



THE BIRTH OF AGRICULTURE

Prehistoric man, in his hunting excursions, picked edible vegetables only when he found them in a wild state. Women made the great discovery that care helps plants to grow; that seeds may be saved and sown; and that the way to prepare the earth was to prod it with a crooked stick. Women not only discovered the art of agriculture, but they invented weaving and the making of pottery as well.

lord. He is first cousin of the branded slave of ancient days whose labor made possible the towering civilization of Egypt, Greece and Rome. He is the direct descendant of the prehistoric fisherman, hunter and herder who kept the race alive through unnumbered centuries.

The agricultural worker has never been an unresisting beast of burden. Even today he is not the passive and uncomplaining wage slave that his modern overlords would like him to be. The partially suppressed story of his revolts in Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages are among the most thrilling chapters in human history. The harvest "stiff" has always rebelled at injustice. Whole epochs of history have been infected with his discontent. He rebels today at the criminal injustice of the capitalist system that denies him his rightful share of the fruits of a civilization that he has helped to produce and helps to sustain.

THE BASIC INDUSTRY

Agriculture is the base of supplies for the entire world. Look around you today: The food you eat, the clothes you wear, your morning coffee and newspaper, your evening pipe of tobacco and the linen on your bed; all these are possible only because agricultural workers, somewhere, have labored to make such things available for you.

Agriculture today is a basic industry because workers in all other industries are dependent upon it for food. Also because the raw materials upon which many other industries depend, such as cotton, wool, flax, hemp, hides etc; are produced on the farm,

ranch or plantation. From the early stages of civilization and up to a few years ago, the farm contained most of our great industries in embryo. The farmer was at once weaver, tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, blacksmith, mason and tanner. At the present time such processes are highly specialized and have become great industries by themselves. As all industries are dependant on agriculture, so modern agriculture is dependant upon many other industries. Agricultural workers must have manufactured products such as clothes, shoes, lumber, machinery and tools. They must have transportation and fuel to move the crops and to bring the finished products to the farm. Agriculture is dependant upon manufacture, construction, communication and other industries as can be plainly seen.

Many raw materials are produced by agricultural workers. Not only wool, cotton, flax and silk which supply the world with its coarse or filmy fabrics, but cereals, fruit, nuts, tobacco, coffee, tea, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, lumber, resin, turpentine and countless other necessities of modern life are given to the world by their prolific labor.

WHAT AGRICULTURE IS

Agriculture is the art or science of cultivating the ground and raising crops and animals directly or indirectly necessary to the sustenance of the human family. It includes the rearing and management of live stock, tillage, husbandry and general farming. To a variable extent it includes the preparation of these products for the use of mankind. Agriculture is a basic industry because it is the industry out of which all other industries grew and upon which they are founded. It is the only industry that could, in case of extreme necessity, independently sustain the race.

The modern agricultural industry is a part of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. This department is divided into four general divisions which are outlined in the chart on the inside front cover of this work:

A, STOCK AND GENERAL FARMING; covering: farms, irrigation work, cotton, sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco plantations, live stock herding and raising, fowl, bird, and bee raising, dairy farming, etc.

B, HORTICULTURE; orchards, gardens, vineyards, truck farms, green and hot houses, fruit farms, silk cultivation, etc.

C, FORESTRY AND LUMBERING; lumber workers in the woods and forests, saw mill workers, shingle weavers, sap collectors, game keepers, etc.

D, FISHERIES; fishers and fish keepers on oceans, lakes and rivers, oyster and clam bed keepers, pearls, corals and sponges, fish hatcheries, etc.

The above sketchy outline will give the reader some idea of the



PREHISTORIC SICKLE
Found in an ancient grave in
Scandinavia.

immensity and scope of the agricultural industry. Each of the divisions mentioned will be covered by a booklet similar to this one. The purpose of the present work is to deal with the agricultural industry chiefly from the standpoint of the harvest workers—the agricultural proletariat—which largely grew out of and belongs in division A.

It is difficult for anyone to conceive of the magnitude of any of the huge modern industries. But each and every one of us should study the industry in which we are employed as well as its relationship to other industries. We should study industrial processes and industrial history so that we may understand the laws of social change in order to work intelligently for the betterment of our class and our selves. We should seek to organize our fellow workers into solid units—industrial unions—so that our class will be strategically intrenched to oppose the greed and power of the parasitical class that now claims the ownership of the earth and the means of production.

THE CORNERSTONE OF CIVILIZATION

Ever since Man appeared on this earth he has been compelled to “scratch for a living.” In order that human beings might triumph in the struggle for life it was necessary to make reluctant Nature yield the things that sustain life. Man’s first struggle was with the untamed wilderness. This old earth has always been a vast treasure house supplying abundantly all that mankind needs for nourishment and comfort. But the key to this treasure house is *knowledge*. The greatest tragedy of all time is the fact that as soon as the race developed the machinery that gave it mastery over nature these wonderful inventions were monopolized and held by a parasitical owning class which used them for private enrichment instead of public benefit.

Through countless centuries man has been compelled to tame the blind forces of Nature and discover their hidden secrets. Through countless centuries he learned to cultivate the soil that the fields might blossom beneath his touch and the earth be made beautiful and inhabitable. After ages of bitter struggle man has conquered the earth and made it subservient to his will. But another lesson has yet to be learned and another fight to be fought; the means of life, upon which the race depends for existence—the earth and the machinery of production and distribution—must be owned by the men and women who do the world’s work. The last great struggle of the human race is not to subdue Nature, but to subdue the hideous institution of social parasitism that has been the curse of humanity from the time man first enslaved his fellow man.

Agriculture is the oldest of all lines of human endeavor. It is a primal and essential industry. Its purpose is to make the soil yield its riches to the children of men. All human life is dependent upon it. Agriculture feeds and clothes the world and contributes in countless ways to its wealth and welfare. Agriculture is the foundation of human society. It is the cornerstone of the century old edifice of civilization. Men might conceivably



INDIAN CULTIVATING CORN

This man is emaciated because the crops were poor. Earth yields bounteously only to modern methods. There is no excuse for poverty in a world that has developed the marvelous machinery of modern production.

live without the products of the mines or even without manufacturing, construction and transportation as we know them today. But the entire race would perish in a short time without the products of the soil and sea. These things alone sustain human life and make possible all forms of human endeavor.

Without organized agriculture the modern world would revert back to the screaming jungles of prehistoric times. Without agricultural products and draw materials all other industries would be compelled to stop, and their millions of workers knock at the door of Nature for their daily bread. Without agriculture builders could not build, weavers weave, bakers bake, politicians lie, or scientists and technicians wrestle with the problems of life. Without the food supplied by the harvest "stiff" the miner could

not sink shafts and wring from the earth its mineral riches, the worker on the seas could not keep open the mighty highways of ocean traffic, the engineer could not stay at his throttle nor the "gandy dancer" by the road bed. If the agricultural worker did not attend to his daily task the pen of the professor and the sword of the soldier would fall from their hands. Even the capitalist newspapers would be unable to spit their customary venom in the face of the working class. Agriculture is the throbbing center of industry. It is to society what the heart is to the human organism. It pumps the red current of life, through its veins, the railroad and steamship lines, to the remotest corners of the earth. If agriculture stops, all stops. Without agriculture all things are impossible; with it nothing is impossible.

Napoleon once said that an army crawls on its belly. Not only is this true of armies but of human society as well. Unless the human race can feed itself it can do nothing else. International capitalism is industrial in form. Unconsciously it has knit the various nations together into one vast organism. Each industry is dependent upon, and interlocked with, all other industries. Labor organization, like capitalism, has become an international rather than a local affair. It is also an industrial rather than a craft affair. Capitalism is crumbling. The times are rotten ripe for change. Unless the world can continue to feed itself when the great change comes there will be chaos. The towering cities that dot the earth today will succumb to starvation. The more the old order of things disintegrates the more

evident it becomes that Industrial Union Councils, or Soviets, are the cells of the new society. Agriculture is the great mother of all industries. She nourishes the races of the earth with the milk of her fecund breasts. Some day, in the not distant future, the city workers of the nation are going to look to the men and women of agriculture to save the world from starvation and destruction. Will they be organized to do so? The purpose of this little booklet is to point the way.



THE MAN WITH THE HOE

From the famous painting by Francois Millet. "It is the man with the hoe, and not the fabled Atlas, who has always carried the world on his shoulders."

MAN'S FIRST GREAT STRUGGLE

People of ancient times looked upon the growth of food-stuffs with religious awe. Tokens were hung upon the limbs of fruit trees, that they might bear abundantly. The fields were invoked to yield bounteous harvests and the flocks to become prolific. Rain and sun were approached with prayers to touch the black earth with magic that the cereals might blossom forth and the people be saved from famine. The old Egyptians welcomed the annual inundation of the Nile with imposing ceremonies.

Even in remote times men made festivals of the days when the crops were in, the graneries full to overflowing and the grain, oil and wine were put aside against a day of possible want. Here in America our Pilgrim fathers made the occasion of their first successful harvest a day of universal Thanksgiving. One of the most impressive monuments in the New World is the Sea Gull Statue in Salt Lake City, erected by the Mormon pioneers in memory of the wheat crop that saved the first colony from starvation. In future days—when we have *real* Civilization—men will erect statues in honor of the workers in the world's industries instead of politicians, exploiters and uniformed murderers as is done today.

The first great struggle of the human race was to conquer the primordial wilderness and make the world a fitting place to live in. The next and final struggle of the ages will be to free mankind from the domination of a class of parasites and robbers that holds the working class in wage slavery and makes the entire human family pay tribute to their greed.

NEW METHODS AND NEW SYSTEMS

The thing that distinguishes our modern social system from all preceding periods is *industry*. Present day society is industrial in character. All history has been a long series of class struggles between the possessionless workers and the propertied exploiters. Today the struggle is no longer between serf and lord, but between the idle owners of the earth and the machinery of production and the workers who must have access to these things in order to live.

The present industrialism of steel, concrete, steam and electricity is a comparatively new development. It may be that some of the mighty works of ancient civilization were created by mechanical means similar to those in use today. One can hardly conceive of such colossal enterprises being the result of slaves, oxen and ideas. But if the ancient world had such machinery history has failed to inform us of the fact. For all practical purposes we must assume that the one industry that dominated all others up to the period of capitalism is agriculture.

It is a scientific fact that the way in which men get their living determines the form of their social and family groupings, their manner of thinking and even their conceptions of right and wrong. The tools men use are the things that mould their minds—in the mass. Agriculture has been the backbone of the world's industries during the greater part of human history.

For that reason we shall trace the agricultural industry and its workers across the centuries in order to show the part they have played and will play in the drama of human events.

Industrialism is the dynamic—the driving force back of present-day social development. But it was not so in the old days, before the gigantic machinery of modern production came into use. At one time this force was a fish-snare, then the bow and arrow; afterwards the plow.

The changing methods of producing the necessities of life have brought about all the great changes in human society. Down to the day when the serfdom of the feudal system was replaced by the wage-slavery of capitalism, agriculture almost exclusively moulded the destinies of the race. The era of machine production changed all this. Thanks to the invention of modern machine production, agriculture has become only one of several important industries. These industries are now interlocked and interdependent. All are equally necessary to the upkeep of the human race.

The machine era is a comparatively new thing. It appeared only yesterday. The greatest "revolution" the world ever saw was the change from hand to machine production. During the brief existence of the machine era it has brought about more



ANCIENT PLOW

The original is in the new Industrial Museum at Petrograd.



HARVEST SLAVES OF 2200 YEARS AGO

These men were branded like cattle. They were not supposed to be better than beasts. Each one was compelled to wear an iron collar around his neck. The ancient method of harvesting was to cut only the head from the grain. This was carried to the busy threshing floor in baskets. Many agricultural bosses of today would like nothing better than to have their wage slaves in the very same condition of servitude.

changes in human life than all the centuries that preceeded it. Machinery not only speeds up production; it also speeds up the processes of social change. A decade of capitalism is more pregnant with progress than a dozen centuries of feudalism. A few years ago men would not have dared to dream that one generation would see as much history made as we have seen since the beginning of the world war. But things are only just getting started. Every passing day brings the capitalist system closer to its inevitable doom. The machine process is the thing that enriched the parasites and dispossessed the producers. The machine process is also the thing that is preparing the industries for the workers to take charge and hastening the day when the boss shall don overalls.

PREHISTORIC MAN, THE FISHER AND HUNTER

Our prehistoric ancestors, living amidst the hostile environment of the younger world, were only slightly above the brute in mental development. They were considerably inferior in physical strength. But the stone-age man made up for weakness and cowardice with a cunning peculiar to himself. This cunning, and the awful compulsion of his environment, led him to invent the stone ax, the fish-snare and the bow and arrow. Each of these ingenious inventions worked great changes in his mode of life. Each brought about a revolution which completely changed the old form of society.

Man was originally a fruit, nut and root-eating animal. He was a vegetarian before he learned how to use the weapons that

made it possible for him to become carnivorous. His teeth, even today, are the teeth of vegetable-eating rather than flesh-eating animals. Man belongs to, what anthropologists call, the order of Primates. His nearest relations in the animal world, are the orang-utang, the chimpanzee, the gorilla and the gibbon. The teeth of all these including man, resemble far more the teeth of the grass-eating horse than those of the flesh-eating tiger.

At first the human species took its food where it was to be found. Only by slow degrees did man learn to cultivate the things he needed for his daily nourishment. The beginnings of agriculture, date from an incredibly remote period when the hairy, half-human anthropoid first took the trouble to tear up the weeds that hindered the growth of a sheltered bed of stringy carrots or a hidden patch of tender wheat. In the ages that followed man learned how to plow and plant and harvest. But there were many tools to invent and many processes to master by experimentation before he could settle down and derive his living directly from the soil. First of all he had to learn to be faithful to a given section of the earth's surface instead of wandering from place to place. The primary condition of human progress is that men shall permanently settle and till the soil—in other words to cultivate the art of agriculture. Without this all other things are impossible. Agriculture and civilization are plants that will not flourish in the hut of the hunter or the tent of the nomad.

ORGANIZATION, THE NEED OF ALL AGES

But the first thing men did on this earth was to wander. Food would not come to them and so they had to go forth in search of food. But it was not safe for men to forage alone. The primitive jungles were teeming with wild and ferocious beasts—just as hungry as the men themselves. The “gang” or clan was man's protection. Numbers was his only defense. This led from the family group to the development of the phratry, the tribe, the confederation of tribes and finally, the nation. Solidarity and organization meant as much to the prehistoric savage as they do to the wage slaves under modern capitalism. Like the



THE GREAT GRAND-DADDY OF THE
PITCH-FORK

Peasants in Greece still use crooked branches for the purpose of “pitching bundles.”

savage the modern worker must learn that men who cannot hope to survive do not band together in the face of a hostile environment. In the development of the new society the workers in industry must learn to consolidate small groups into large groups, craft groups into industrial groups, isolated unions into One Big Union, the workers of one nation with the workers of all

nations. History repeats itself and the law of co-operative defense holds good in the smoking industrial centers of today just as it did in the leafy wilderness of the dawn of time.

Not having invented the implements needed to cultivate the land nor having developed the intelligence to use them, primitive man found his chief sustenance, not from the soil, but from the rivers and sea. This was the line of least resistance. Also, just as today, it was probably far more enjoyable. So fishing became the chief occupation of the biped known as man. Human beings in the mass learned to fish before they learned anything else. For centuries they followed this pursuit to the exclusion of all others. During this period the human family spread up and down the sea coasts and inland along the courses of rivers and streams into the very heart of the savage wilderness. Scientists today trace the course of their travels by the huge shell-mounds that accumulated around the camps during centuries of ceaseless migration. These shell mounds remain to this day, in Scandinavia and elsewhere. Many crude stone implements used by prehistoric man have been found amongst them.



This method of separating the grain from the straw was in use two thousand years ago.

THE BIRTH OF AGRICULTURE

Then came the invention of the bow and arrow. This was one of the great turning points in human history. The bow and arrow worked a revolution. They made hunting, instead of fishing, the basis of human society. The savage tribes were no longer compelled to follow the shores of ocean and rivers, living in constant fear of the menace of the wild beasts of the inland. Men could now forage far into the forests, defying animals before whom they had heretofore fled in terror. Game became a part of man's daily diet. Fruits, nuts and vegetables might also be enjoyed more frequently. Settlements were established in places hitherto inaccessible. Cliff-colonies were not only more comfortable than the river "squatting places", but they were far more secure. Cliff dwellings became a more or less permanent headquarters for the hunters. These rocky abiding places made possible, not only the invention of agriculture, but also the institution of private property with its far-reaching effects upon family and tribal relations and the future development of society.

Animals that had been hunted for their meat were now captured, tamed and domesticated. It was found to be more profitable to breed and herd animals than to hunt and kill them. Sheep, cattle and swine were soon raised in large numbers. Entire races became herders and the patriarchal period of human history became possible. Also the primitive settlement made possible the first crude attempts at growing things. It was discovered, no doubt with surprise and awe, that those wonderful things known as seeds, when planted in the still more wonderful soil would, by some mysterious process, multiply themselves a hundred fold.

So it happened that the first wild cereals and vegetables were sown or planted in the rocky patch of ground adjoining the cave tenement. These were increased by means of care and cultivation. There is no doubt but women instead of men deserve the credit for the birth of agriculture. Men were probably too busy with the hunting of wild beasts to have time for such "trifles". But agriculture, like the bow and arrow, was destined to work another revolution in human society. And, whether men or women who were responsible for the bow and arrow and the planting of seeds, the world owes them an everlasting debt of gratitude. No doubt they were hailed as "agitators" and ridiculed and persecuted for not being content with the ways of their fathers. It is possible that their fellow cave-men wanted to deport them at once, or brain them with a trusty stone ax for the crime of disturbing the tranquility of the tribal life with a New Idea. But new ideas have a way of winning out in the long run.

The bow and arrow proved to the incredulous horde that the frail striking arm of a man could be lengthened a thousand



THE FREE HARVEST WORKER OF GAUL

The ancient Gauls harvested on the communal plan. They invented machinery to help make their work lighter. The man in the picture knocks the heads of the grain as they come between the comb-like teeth which project from the box. In Rome slaves were so cheap that labor saving machinery "didn't pay".

times. After a while it was adopted as a matter of course. The crooked sticks, that the slant-browed cave-women used to prepare the ground for planting, proved the veracity of the old saying, "if you tickle the earth with a plow it will laugh with a harvest." The conservative brethren of the hairy folk finally convinced themselves that their survival depended upon adopting

“modern” methods in the struggle for life. Then they came to look upon the crooked stick as the most natural and necessary thing in the world. Probably it was much the same in the days of the cave-man as it is today.

Herding and farming were the chief industries of barbarism and the ancient civilizations. Scientists are divided as to which one was first

in the march of human progress. They were probably developed at the same time in different parts of the world. But the point is immaterial for the purposes of this booklet.



BREEDING SLAVE REVOLTS IN ROME

Entire districts were sometimes driven into slavery by the Romans. The slave market was the backbone of ancient commerce. Before the fall of Rome, 1800 men owned all the known world. Ancient slaves not only organized themselves into unions, but they rebelled.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM AND CONSANGUINE COLLECTIVISM

In primitive times there was no such thing as the private ownership of land. In fact most everything excepting articles of personal use and adornment were the joint property of the tribe. The earth belonged to everybody and everybody had an equal right to take enough of its riches to sustain himself and loved ones. It was not necessary to ask for a “job” in order to keep from starving as is the case today. Slavery, serfdom and industrial servitude came later on, with what men have chosen to call, “civilization.”

Scientists refer to this period as Primitive Communism—primitive because it existed so long ago, and communism because the earth was owned by the people in common and not by a few idle parasites. Today, in contrast, a few corporations can speak of “our” forests, “our” mines, “our” mountains, “our” railroads. They even truthfully refer to the earth as “our” earth. The wealth of the modern world is concentrating constantly into fewer and fewer hands. The capitalist drones have no other dream but that they and their kind shall live on the backs of labor to the end of time. But even our most benighted forebears had sense enough to know that private property of the means of life was an idea that could not be tolerated. Only by a long and bloody process of expropriation did the master class establish its claim to the ownership of the earth and the boundless products of fields, mines and factories. The most hopeful sign of our age is that this adventitious claim is being challenged today as at no other time in history.

After the first barbarian tribes had given up their nomadic life of fishing and hunting they began, more and more, to settle permanently on the land. For one thing the increase in population made this step necessary. Tribes living in a wild or semi-wild state require a great deal of territory whereas the cultivation of the earth, by increasing the productivity of labor, makes it possible for a comparatively small area to sustain a large population. The small truck farms around Paris, for example, by cultivating every inch of ground, supply millions of people with all the green stuff they require.

The idea of property was born when certain tribes settled and developed certain territories claiming them as their own. Living as wandering hunters or fishermen the land was considered of little value. But when these tribes began to moisten the soil with the sweat of their labor they began to claim it as their very own. The title was not vested in individuals, however. The land was worked and owned collectively by the entire people. The tribe was in reality one great family, and so this period is called by scientists, Family or Consanguine Collectivism. This form of ownership endured for centuries. It was finally broken up by a class of greedy land monopolists. The workers were then reduced to slavery.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SLAVERY

The slave owners of Rome gained possession of the entire ancient world, but by so doing they destroyed themselves. In Scotland and Ireland the old Clans could not be broken up until all the common lands had been forcibly appropriated by the conquerors. In England, during the Middle Ages, the people were robbed of their lands only after a long and bitter struggle, France and Italy were scourged with war and pestilence in order that landlords might steal the property of the poor. The Village Communities in India are at present hot-beds of rebellion against British rule and capitalist ownership. In Mexico the Indian communes are rallying points of a movement whose watch-word is the deathless slogan of Bakunine "Land and Liberty." In free

Russia the village **Mir** is at present recognized as an integral part of the Soviet government.

The capitalist system has divorced the people from the earth as well as from the machinery of production. Land, like all other forms of wealth, has found its way into the hands of an ever decreasing number of idle and arrogant "owners." Only by paying tribute to these drones can men have access to the soil. The private ownership of the earth is now a fact. The vast majority of people must yield up a large portion



Egyptian slaves winnowing wheat
by hand.
(From an old wall-painting.)

of the product of their labor for the mere privilege of living on the earth and keeping a roof over their heads.

Agriculture was a great step forward in the evolution of the race. But it brought in its train the curse of the ages, Slavery. It was the private ownership of land that led to the enslavement of the workers. Just as primitive men found it profitable to tame and make beasts of burden of animals they had previously hunted and eaten, so ancient men found it profitable to tame and make beasts of burden of human enemies they had previously captured in battle and killed. It must be remembered that primitive savages had the cannibalistic custom of eating the slain enemies of the tribe. They only discarded the custom when they found out that it paid them better to put their captives to work in the fields. The strong or crafty men of ancient times, by hook or crook, gained possession of both land and slaves that belonged to their tribesmen and, in a short time, the tribesmen themselves were enslaved to the self-same masters. Private property was the father of human slavery. It is also the father of the great struggle of the classes that has written with red the history of the race. This is how it happened, a long, long time ago, that the free agricultural workers of ancient days were transformed into slaves and compelled to work almost naked in the blistering fields branded like cattle and with iron collars around their necks.



A THRESHING FLOOR IN
MESOPOTAMIA

Showing the ancient method still in use
in parts of the old world.

THE GOLDEN AGE

In many respects the period of Primitive Communism was the happiest the human race ever enjoyed. Men and women had "ganged up" in clans, tribes etc. for mutual protection and mutual aid against their natural enemies. Primitive Communism was the "simple life" in the fullest meaning of the term. Living close to Nature, the wants of men and women were easily supplied from her never-failing abundance. Master and slave were unknown and exploitation undreamed of. Woman instead of being the drudge of man was, if anything, his superior. The line of inheritance was on the material side and children took the mother's name instead of the father's. Social parasitism could not take root in this elemental system of social arrangement. There were no such things as theft, child labor or prostitution. The law of the tribe was the law of collective self-preservation. It was not necessary to conscript warriors to defend the

family hearth because it was to the interest of each member of the tribe to fight for the tribe when occasion demanded. Wars were not fought to enrich a coterie of capitalist imperialists as is the case today. The government of the tribe was the tribal council in which each member had an equal voice.

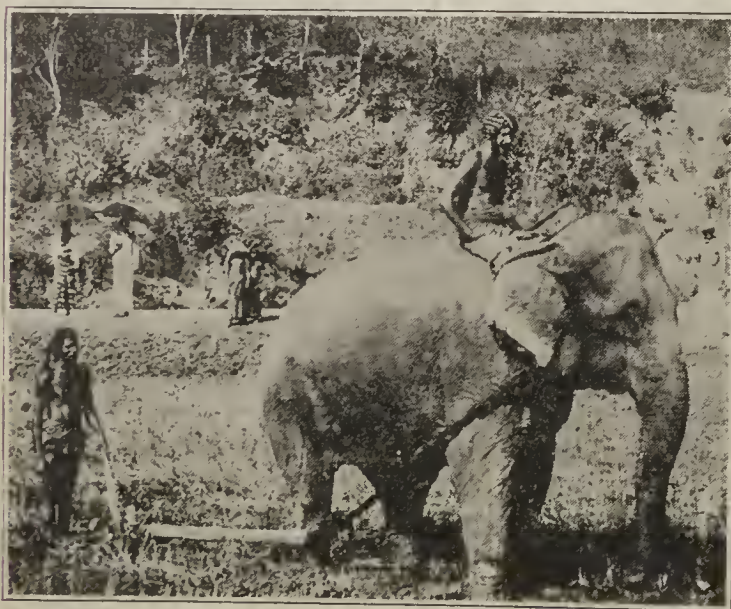
Poverty was unknown as long as game was plentiful or crops successful. Each produced according to his ability and consumed according to his needs. Experience had taught the collectivity to put by, in the graneries, from one to three years food supply as a precaution against famine. Not only were hunting and fishing tribal efforts, but dwellings were constructed and fields tilled and irrigated in the same manner. The legendary "Golden Age" that haunts the histories of every race under the sun is a racial memory of the freedom and simplicity that existed before human slavery cast its sinister shadow over the world.

WAR-CAPTIVES AND POOR RELATIONS

When man first seized the fields from his fellows he automatically forced them to labor on the land they no longer owned. The class struggle started the very first day one man lashed another into servitude. Scientists state that this process of enslavement started within the tribes as well as by reason of the degradation of captives taken in battle. This happened shortly after the permanent settlement had made possible the accumulation of herds, flocks, land and other private property. When men acquired property they wanted to be sure their sons would inherit it. The family grouping was altered so that children took the father's name instead of the mother's. The line

of inheritance was switched over to the paternal side. Away back in this remote period men decided that the first born son was the logical heir. So it happened that the first born was respected and venerated and waited upon by his less fortunate kinsmen. His younger brothers were reduced to a condition of slavery.

As the tribes confederated and the confederations grouped themselves into nations



CREATING DIVIDENDS FOR BRITISH CAPITALISTS IN INDIA

Hot work and poor pay. The Hindu agricultural workers, both in India and the United States, will some day be organized in I. U. 110.

there was a great deal of fighting and warfare. The possessing class desired land then just as they desire markets today. Ever since the advent of private property wars have been inevitable. They became bigger and more terrible as the contending groups of exploiters became more powerful. From the first tribal battle to the world-war of yesterday every war has been a fight for plunder. And it is largely for plunder—land, markets and slaves that all the wars of the world have been fought. Through countless centuries the earth has been drenched with human blood because one group of titled or industrial parasites quarreled with another group to see which of them would suck the life blood of labor. And always the rich and powerful have been the victors and the poor and persecuted have paid the awful price. Wars are inherent in the present capitalist system. They will continue until the system has been overthrown and the workers of the world take possession of the earth and the machinery of production. International peace can only come with international brotherhood. Both of these are possible only in a form of society which is free from class divisions and in which private property of the means of life have been discarded in favor of Industrial Communism.

SLAVES AND PATRICIANS

The idle aristocrats of the ancient world were proud of being parasites. They considered it shameful for a freeman to soil his white fingers with useful labor. The predatory class has placed a stigma upon toil that exists to the present time. Each stratum of "scissorbill" society, no matter how lowly its position, seeks to ape the dress and mannerisms of the class above. Revolutionary workers, however, have learned to be proud of being producers. They believe that idleness is disgraceful and social parasitism a crime. In order that the patricians of Rome and Greece might luxuriate in splendour it was necessary for them to have thousands of bondsmen at their beck and call.

Slaves were needed in ever increasing numbers. Whole communities from conquered territory were degraded to slavery. In Epirus, for instance, 70 cities were sacked and 150,000 agricultural workers sold into bondage. After the fall of Carthage almost the entire population suffered a like fate. The slave trade became a thriving and thoroughly respectable business. Not content with accumulating wealth from the labor of unfortunate working people the ancient patricians made great profits from the sale of their bodies as well. The buying, selling and bartering of human truck-animals became international. The proud edifice of Roman civilization and Roman law was built up on the tortured bodies of millions of enslaved men and women.

The condition of agricultural workers in ancient days was just what might be expected of a society in which "wealth accumulates and men decay." The master class, in seeking to degrade a subject class, always reaches the lowest degree of degradation itself. The truth of this statement is evidenced as much by the perverse and degenerate idle rich of present times



AGRICULTURAL SERFS, ENGLAND,
ELEVENTH CENTURY
Showing style of implements used under feudalism.
(From an old wood-cut.)

as by the meretricious overlords of twenty centuries ago.

In Egypt, Greece and Rome the workers were compelled to work daily in the hot fields, under the watchful eyes of brutal bosses and in constant dread of punishment for violation of odious rules and regulations. If rebellious or unruly they

were lashed with the "scorpion",—a cat 'o nine tails, with a pellet of bronze at the end of each leather thong. The patrician "owners" also had the right arbitrarily to inflict capital punishment upon his human "property." Men, women and children were herded into miserable hovels when not needed on the job. Slaves were fed the coarsest of food. They were not permitted to stand upright in the presence of their "superiors." They were not permitted to wear their hair long, to acquire an education nor to practice the manly arts. The Roman nobleman was permitted to have children by any or all of his female subjects. Their clothing consisted of a few strips of dog-skin, sheep-skin or rags. Slaves were not permitted to participate in public affairs or religious ceremonies. The fact is they were not considered to be human, nor to have human souls, human minds or human feelings. They were "earth-born"—like cattle. The pure-blooded masters, on the contrary, were considered the offspring of divinity. Their basest instincts were given free rein. They were greedy, lascivious, and brutal and militantly idle. Most of the slaves were owned by patricians, but many were the possession of the state. These latter were hired out to individual contractors under a contract similar to the one used at present by Samuel Gompers and Company which permits worker to be parceled out to exploiters for specified lengths of time.

SLAVERY TRIUMPHANT

In sparta slaves were called *helots* and they formed a very considerable portion of the population. Whenever these *helots* became too unruly or too numerous they were killed off by armed bands of young aristocrats acting under orders of the *ephori*, or overseers. These "100%" Spartans, no doubt following the Roman dictum, "the more slaves the more enemies," would sneak out into the rural districts and assassinate the slaves with sharp daggers. The cowardly murderers, far from being

punished for their crimes, were commended and rewarded. American Legion members are similarly praised at the present time whenever they break strikes, raid union halls or try to lynch union workingmen as they did at Centralia.

It is not to be supposed that the agricultural workers of the Primitive Communism permitted themselves to be dispossessed without a struggle. The fact is it took many years to fasten the fetters of slavery upon the free and proud people of the tribes. In the beginning the class struggle broke out between slave merchants and free agricultural workers, afterwards between the land monopolists and their slaves, finally between the arrogant absentee grandes of Greece and Rome and the slave class as a whole.

In Attica, during the third and fourth centuries B. C.—the days of “the glory that was Greece”—three quarters of the population was enslaved. In Athens, when Grecian culture was at its height, 34,000 freemen were supported in idleness by a slave population of over 300,000. Nor can it be said that the pampered drones of Athens are responsible for the incomparable legacy of Grecian art and architecture. Phidias, the greatest sculptor of that or any other age, was a descendant of slaves. Xenocles, the master mason, who designed the famous temple of the Elusinian mysteries, was also of the poorest parentage. Other names might be mentioned if space permitted.

As late as 196, B. C. the land-grabbers of Rome were attempting to lock out the free agricultural workers of Etruria and supplant them with slave labor. The parasites achieved their purpose only after most of the Etrurian population had been put to the sword or crucified. The thrilling history of Vercingetorix gives ample evidence of the unwillingness of ancient Gallic freemen to bend their necks to the yoke of Roman exploitation.

World history, from the standpoint of the revolutionary worker, should recount the story of the world's workers and the world's industries. The great age-long struggle of the producing class to shake off the curse of social parasitism is the thing that will interest the happy generation who will live under real civilization—the Free Society of the future.

History as it is now written is not history at all. Ancient military despotism and modern industrial autocracy have recorded merely the brutality of kings, the treachery of politicians, the hypocrisy of reformers and the shameful blindness of the masses. But the great human story of the great majority—the humble and despised workers has been ignored. The man who said, “history is only a lie sworn to,” must have had this fact in mind.

THE HARVEST STIFF OF ANCIENT DAYS

Agricultural work has been looked down upon by the lily-fingered gentry of the idle classes, and agricultural workers despised throughout the ages as “menial” and “low”; yet the human race



ANCIENT CHINESE PLOW



PLOWING IN MODERN SICILY

This is a recent picture. The method of plowing has changed but little since the days of Eunus and Athenion.

never could have survived without such labor and such men. Theirs are the hands that have nourished alike the brawn of the builder and the brain of the dreamer of dreams. Agricultural work is the most ancient and the most honorable of all work. It is the "man with the hoe" and not the fabled Atlas who has always carried the world on his shoulders.

Harvest workers in all countries and all times are surprisingly alike. They swelter today in the hot fields of golden grain just as they did two thousand years ago, and longer. The implements they use are different at present, it is true, but the sweat, the

backache and the old, old spirit of revolt are identical.

Few modern harvest workers are aware of the fact that the branded slaves who garnered the Roman crops of twenty centuries ago were organized into unions, went on strike, slept in the "jungles" and sang rebel songs, much as the harvest "stiff" is doing at present. But these things are true.

The chattal slave of classical days was not migratory. In fact he usually went about with an iron collar and a chain. But he was a rebel; and he has written a page of history that Bourgeois historians have seen fit to ignore. Labor disturbances have always been unpleasant things for social parasites to consider.

Few people know that the strikes and revolts of ancient agricultural slaves were so huge and so powerful that they shook the proud aristocracy of Rome to its foundations and, eventually, helped to shake it down. Few people realize that the harvest "stiffs" of bygone days waged mighty war-fare against the hated institution of slavery and, in places, actually emancipated themselves from its yoke. What is more, they forced the release of thousands of their fellow workers from prison; confiscated great estates from their parasitical "owners," and "made the boss don overalls." At one time 300,000 of them marched against Rome, the vicious center of the ancient slave market, and caused the mighty to tremble in their seats of power.

The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" did not originate in Russia, but in the island of Sicily—the granery of the ancient world—one hundred and forty years before the rebel hobo known as Jesus is supposed to have been born. On one occasion,

under the leadership of a runaway slave named Eunus, this dictatorship endured for a dozen years and successfully withstood the strongest armies the landed aristocrats of Rome could send against it.



HARVESTING IN NORTHERN AFRICA

The reaping hook is still used, just as it was in the days of the Caesars. The grain is either threshed by hand or with oxen.

ANCIENT LABOR UNIONS

There were countless slave strikes and uprisings in ancient days, but only a meagre few have been recorded. Our limited space makes it necessary for us to confine ourselves to the most spectacular of these. Old inscriptions and fragments of history have proved that agricultural and other workers were organized long ago as 1000 years B. C. In ancient Greece these unions were called *therasoi*, in Rome *collegium*. These unions were of three varieties, brotherhoods, burial societies and communist. All were, no doubt the product of the old communal mode of life. At first they were used by the free workers against slave hunters; afterwards by the slaves against their "owners". The active resistance to the raids of slave merchants, and the subsequent displacement of free labor on vast estates, that had been stolen from the common land, gave rise to much discontent and many uprisings. These occurred ever more frequently as the aristocrats seized the lands and sought to break up the unions. The discontent reached a climax in 58, B. C., when the Roman Senate sought to pass a law outlawing labor organization. During this time a series of gigantic labor disturbances swept great portions of Asia Minor, Italy and the whole of Sicily. It was during this period that the gladiator Spartacus made his gallant stand for human freedom. The Spartacan movement in Germany, of which the martyred Liebknecht was the head, was named after this heroic rebel.

It must be remembered that slaves in those days were branded like cattle. Like beasts they were not supposed to have human souls or human feelings; and like beasts they were compelled to toil for their "owners". They were in the condition

that the master class of today would like to see all modern wage workers. But these men were closer to the period of primitive communism than we are, and the memory of freedom was fresher in their minds. The efforts of the patricians to drive them into slavery and to keep them there were always resented and always resisted.

A REVOLT AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE

In ancient Spain, 149, B. C. a great revolt against the Roman slave trade occurred. This uprising is connected with the name of Variathus, a rebel sheep herder. The slave market had made terrible inroads upon the population of agrarian Spain whose sturdy population was admirably adapted for agricultural labor upon the great estates of the Roman grandees. So the spearmen of Rome were dispatched thither to carry off the strongest and best into bondage. This plan worked flawlessly for a while.

Variathus rebelled against the cruel custom from the time he was a young man. The Romans looked upon him as an agitator, his fellow slaves as an efficient and daring leader. No doubt, like Spartacus, he was an organizer for the *collegium* of agricultural workers. Variathus kept himself out of the clutches of "the law", bided his time; and when he struck, he struck hard.

Thousands of Spanish workers were slaving in foreign harvest fields. Many were sweating under the lash of tyranny at home. After the battle of Pydna the Romans sacked or destroyed seventy cities and took a hundred and fifty thousand free workers into captivity. Variathus continued to agitate until Spain was fairly sizzling with rebellion. A Roman general named Galba perpetrated a massacre in order to intimidate the population. It had the opposite effect. Variathus, who fortunately had escaped, marshalled the agricultural workers into an orderly force and told them the hour had come to choose between resistance or slavery. They chose to resist. He then proceeded to drill and discipline his forces.

When the next slave hunting expedition reached the shores of sunny Spain it was met by a determined host of sun burned huskies armed with swords made out of sickles and spears fashioned from sythe blades. The proud invaders were ingloriously defeated.

During the following twenty years Rome sent six great armies of Spain. Each in turn was annihilated. Slavery was a thing of the past. The fertile fields of Lusitania were tilled by free communal labor as they had been for centuries past. The black cloud of slavery had vanished.

Eventually the rebel sheep herder was murdered by Roman stool pigeons from his own ranks. But the slave market had been cheated of hundreds of thousands of victims by his twenty years of valient struggle.

THE "DICTATORSHIP" IN SICILY

The story of Eunus, the Syrian runaway slave, and the great revolt of agricultural workers in Sicily, is one of the strangest and most romantic in history. Sicily, in ancient days was noted

for its wheat. Oil and wine were produced also, but wheat was the chief product. From it much of the bread of the then known world was made. Sicily was a place of great natural fertility and beauty. Even today travelers state the rich, spicy odor of the island can be detected at sea, miles before its shores are sighted. But, in the days of Eunus, land monopoly and slavery had made a hell out of what should have been a paradise. Every inhabitant not of noble blood was a slave. The possessing class was becoming more greedy and vicious all the time. Also the wealth of the island was being concentrated into constantly fewer and fewer hands. The city of Leontini, for example had but 88 property owners, Mutice but 188, Herbita but 257. Other large cities counted its property owners by the dozens. There were absentee Roman land owners also. The main part of the population was composed of slaves—mostly discontented slaves.

All histories state that Eunus was a union man. Even in Syria he belonged to the *thiasos* of Dionysian artists, which is the ancient name for actor's union. Eunus' "stunt" as an entertainer was fire spitting and wonder working by means of conjurer's tricks. The Romans looked upon him as a dangerous agitator, but the agricultural slaves considered him a messiah. He was an organizer for the *eranos* or union of agricultural workers in Sicily.

A harvest strike started near the city of Enna over demands for better clothing and more food. The rich land owner, Damophilus by name, warmed the hides of the strike committee with a "scorpion" and sent them back to the fields.

This action, characteristic of the greed-blinded exploiters of all ages, was the signal for a strike. This strike grew into one of the greatest labor rebellions the world ever saw. The outraged slaves, after working summary vengeance upon Damophilus and his equally cruel wife, took to the mountains and "jungled up" in the vine-clad security of the craggy heights. News of the exploit spread rapidly and soon the agricultural workers of the entire island had downed tools and joined the revolt. It was then that Eunus, the agitator and worker of wonders, took command.

His first step was to urge the rebels to trample human slavery underfoot, appropriate the estates of the idle land owners and build up a free society on the old communal plan of common ownership and equal labor. One after another these estates were taken over. Their rich and idle "owners" were uniformly put to work or thrown in prison if they refused.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS RELEASED

The jails of the day were called *ergastuli*. These were underground work houses similar to the "solitary" at Leavenworth where Uncle Sam punishes workingmen for the crime of thinking. The *ergastuli* of Sicily were full of recaptured runaway slaves and other workers who had committed offenses against the law-buttressed landowners. No doubt they contained their quota of union organizers, just as do the prisons of



"BROADCASTING" IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Ten acres a day was considered a very
good day's work.

today. These grewsome holes were of course hated by the workers. One of the first things they did after the revolt was to batter down the iron doors and free the inmates. Sixty thousand slaves, mostly class war prisoners were released in this manner to serve in the rebel forces. It is not reported that the rebels in ancient Sicily used lawyers to force the release of fellow workers unjustly imprisoned.

A great number of freedmen had become tramps owing to the labor market being continually flooded with slaves. These joined the revolt also. The rebellion grew in strength and numbers. Small cultivators, willing to work, were spared, but the great landed parasites were summarily dealt with. During the following years most of Sicily was farmed co-operatively by the agricultural workers for themselves and their own class. Work or fight was the order of the day.

The liberation movement was unquestionably successful. It gained in numbers and power every moment. Two great uprisings, in different parts of the island, occurred in rapid succession; one led by Achaëus, the other by Cleon—both slaves. The combined forces of the emancipated agricultural workers now numbered 200,000. Sicily was conquered from the center to the sea. The flames of discontent even spread over the Mediterranean to Italy, and an extensive uprising occurred under the leadership of a man named Aristonicus.

The tryanical Roman Senate sent army after army to crush the "servile" rebellion in Sicily. Year after year each in turn was put to utter defeat. Free territory was kept inviolate. Adding a touch of bitter irony to the work of administration and warfare, Eunus and his brother entertainers of the ancient Actor's Union would give mock theatricals for the benefit of captured patricians. These arrogant aristocrats were taunted with a stage show contrasting the old order of things with the new. The sight of branded slaves enjoying the good things of life while their owners and overseers were toiling under the lash in the hot fields must have cut them keenly.

The dictatorship of the proletariat had now endured ten years when the Roman landlords decided to crush the movement at all costs. An overwhelming army was massed together and, after a long and bloody fight, the agricultural workers were de-



THE MODERN WAY OF PLANTING GRAIN

With these wonderful machines it is an easy matter for one man to cover 50 acres of ground in a day. This invention has multiplied the labor productivity of one man 5 times. This does not mean that the man who operates it gets that much more for his labor, however.

feated and driven back into slavery. 20,000 of them were nailed to crosses on the crags of Enna. The dictatorship of the master class was again established. Eunus died in a vermin infested dungeon in Rome. But the slaves had enjoyed ten years of freedom and they were not yet crushed as we shall shortly see.

"CITIZENS OF THE SUN"

The revolutionary movement was temporarily put down in Sicily but in Italy it swept onward with fresh impetus. The old Roman Licinian law made it a crime for any landlord to own more than 500 acres of land, but Roman landlords thought no more or the law than does the American Copper trust. It had been disregarded for a long time. A liberal Roman statesman named Gracchus tried to restore the law and force the idle parasites to release their grip on the throat of the nation. He was mobbed and killed on the streets of Rome by the infuriated land owners. Then the reactionary Senate, in true J. Mitchell Palmer style, resumed the work of breaking up the labor organizations.

Pergamus, in Asia Minor, was acquired by Rome in 133, B. C. Its public lands were confiscated from the people and turned over to Roman landlords. Free labor was supplanted by slaves. A revolt was the result.

This time the rebel forces were led by a man named Aristonicus. His declared purpose was to do away with human slavery and establish a free society that would light up the darkened world like the sun. The hitherto despised and branded helots were to be called *heliopolitai*—"citizens of the sun". All workers were to have equal opportunity and there was to be liberty and prosperity for everyone. All were to work together and keep the fruits of their labor for the enjoyment of the producing class alone.

It was a noble dream and valiantly fought for. But Rome was once again too powerful. Four years after the outbreak of the revolt, in the year 129, B. C., we hear of Aristonicus being strangled to death in a Roman dungeon. Aristonicus was acclaimed by the slaves of the day as a deliverer, but history has

recorded little of him save his great dream and the story of his tragic death.

SICILY STRIKES AGAIN

The scene now shifts once more to sunny Sicily. For twenty-eight years after the death of Eunus, slavery flourished again in the fertile fields of "the granery of the world." The unions had not been uprooted and the greed and cruelty of the land owners had grown apace. Slavery once more became unendurable. The militant agricultural workers retained the memory of their ten glorious years of freedom long after the ghastly price had been forgotten.

This time the uprising was precipitated by 800 runaway slaves who had found sanctuary in a secluded woodland temple from the wrath of their masters. When the story spread abroad other slaves joined them in crowds of a hundred or two at a time. In a short while the entire island was once more aflame with revolt. Rome immediately sent her legions to the scene, but they were harassed and defeated by the slaves fighting in guerrilla fashion. A great supply of arms and war material was amassed in this manner. A slave named Salvius had organized an army of 22,000 cavalry and foot, in the south of the island. The great estates were again taken over and the *ergastuli* again opened for recruits. In the western part of the island a huge strike broke out under the leadership of the man who was to be the real leader of the rebellion. A sun-burned and branded agricultural slave named Athenion had been elected leader, and thousands of slaves left their hateful labor and joined his standard at once. Athenion, though of humble origin, exhibited the rarest qualities of statesmanship and military genius from the start. He refused to accept any recruits for the fighting forces save men of tested strength and bravery. All the rest were put to work on the freed lands to insure adequate supplies for the army so that it would not be necessary to fight famine as well as the legions of Rome. Ten thousand picked men were selected in this manner. Athenion then united his forces with those of Salvius and prepared to meet the armed forces of the Roman exploiters. These were soon forthcoming. Legion after glittering legion of the flower of Roman aristocracy was hurled at the determined slaves in vain. After each battle the rebels were left masters of the field. Slavery had once again been abolished from the fair "granery of the world."

"NOT DEFEATED, BUT OUTNUMBERED"

Defeat came four years after the outbreak of the rebellion. Six proud Roman Praetors had led their legions against the revolutionists, and each had crawled back to Rome defeated and disgraced. In a final desperate effort to crush the slaves, a new and huge army was assembled under a Consul named Aquillius. These forces were powerful enough to put down the abolitionist rebellion and re-establish human slavery. Thousands of crosses were again ornamented with the bodies of workers who gave their lives for freedom. Athenion was also an accredited mes-



THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL REAPER INVENTED IN 1831

This machine embodied the following essential principles of the modern reaper: vibrating sickle-edged blade, fingers to hold the grain, reel, divider and platform to hold the grain.

This machine revolutionized the age-long methods of reaping grain.

siah, but he died like a hero, killed on the field of battle in personal combat with the labor-hating Roman consul himself. Aquillius was afterwards captured by slaves in Pergamus and union metal workers poured molten gold down his throat.

But even with all this the slaves of Sicily were not yet resigned to their loathsome servitude. A young rebel named Satyros escaped the massacre and subsequent man-hunt and fled to the mountains with the remnant of the proletarian army. For two years more the gallant band held the fort against all odds. In B. C. 99 they were finally captured and sent to Rome under the solemn promise of a Roman general that they would be treated as prisoners of war.

Once in Rome they were thrown in chains, taken to the amphitheatre where knives were thrust into their hands. They were told to battle wild beasts for the amusement of an audience of patricians. Rather than give their lives "for a Roman holiday" the brave rebels shouted defiance at the thousands of their bloodthirsty enemies, and killed themselves on the spot with their own weapons.

After this uprising there were intermittent strikes and rebellions all over the ancient world. Rome, already convulsed with labor troubles, was still trying to enforce her stupid law against labor organization. In this respect she was much like the various states in the Union that are seeking to outlaw labor organizations with the notorious "criminal syndicalism" laws. In both cases the results are the very opposite of what was expected. In Rome a thousand minor disorders culminated, under the pressure of unintelligent opposition, into the famous slave revolution of Spartacus. This revolt is one of the hugest in history—worthy of comparison with the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution. At one time it actually threatened to sweep

the Roman master class from power. This was 70 years before the beginning of the Christian era.

THE IMMORTAL SPARTACUS

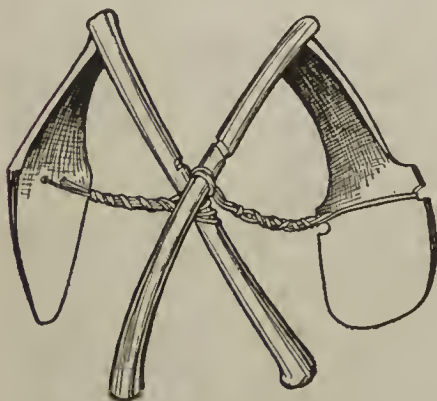
The revolt of Spartacus took place in the year 78, B. C. At this time the concentration of wealth into the hands of the Roman master clans had just about reached its highest pitch. A few thousand idle voluptuaries in the mighty capitol owned all the then known world. Entire nations paid tribute to these bloated parasites and the working class of the world was in bondage to them. So much was idleness the fashion of the rich and toil a disgrace, that any freeman found guilty of soiling his fingers with labor was seized and sold into slavery. The inhuman slave market had been extended until it embraced every known nation. The patrician class, more greedy and licentious than ever before, was sunk in indescribable idleness and debauchery. The slave class, artisans as well as agricultural workers, was a swelter of seething discontent. The anti-labor laws were being vigorously enforced. Only a spark was needed to start a conflagration. This spark, as is always the case, was supplied by the greed-blinded aristocrats themselves.

The *jus coeundi*, or law permitting free organization had been a thorn in the side of Roman exploiters for centuries. Under its provisions labor unions were recognized by law. The slaves had, years before, taken advantage of this opportunity to organize. Throughout the centuries they had retained their organizations in the face of fiercest opposition. The patricians had succeeded in retaining their grasp upon the public or communal lands, which were stolen from the people and held in defiance of the law. Also they had supplanted free labor with slave labor on their vast estates throughout the world. Like the lumber barons of today the Roman patricians did not intend to permit their human beasts of burden to organize and put a stop to the process of exploitation. The law, permitting slaves to organize, was being fought with extreme ferocity by the land owners and their tools in the prostituted Roman Senate. Then came the gladiator Spartacus and the rebellion that bears his name. Capitalist historians have tried to suppress the facts

about this monumental revolt but it stands as one of the greatest labor struggles of history.

From all accounts Spartacus, although a physical and mental giant, was born a slave; and he was a rebel, every inch of him. There is a legend to the effect that, as a boy of fifteen, he stood beside his dying father who had been nailed to a log for the crime of agitating, and swore life-long vengeance upon the enemies of his class.

It was probably because of his



ANCIENT HOES

powerful physique that Spartacus was sent to Capua to become a gladiator. Compared with Thracian Greece, where he had been born and had always lived, Capua appeared in anything but a favorable light. Life here was cramped and crowded. The amphitheatre with its bloody arena, the incessant battles between men and beasts or men and other men; and always the great circle of patricians for whose amusement he was forced to fight. Capua was a hateful place. Only one thing Spartacus desired more than to return to his native hills; that was to punish the aristocrats for the evil they had done and were doing. In Thrace the sheep herders and harvest workers were organized. Why not try to organize the gladiators? Then some day things would be different.

FREEDOM, BATTLE AND VICTORY

All about Capua the communal land was covered with vast private estates which had been illegally seized by the—eland grabbers. The old agricultural unions, which for centuries had dealt direct with the cities in supplying food, had been broken up. The right to organize had been abrogated at last. Organization was outlawed. Thousands of slaves, in the last stages of desperation, were only awaiting an opportunity to fly at the throats of their oppressors.

In ancient days when slaves exhibited fighting instincts they were seized and sent to the arena. They might there fight with other slaves or wild beasts while their masters looked on from safety; but they must never think of fighting with the masters themselves. The Roman aristocrats were as crafty as modern imperialists in this respect.

Spartacus, although a seasoned and unvanquished gladiator, loathed the killing of his fellow slaves for the perverse amusement of the drunken overlords of Rome. Also he hated the dishonored weapons with which he was compelled to fight. He was a fighter by nature and longed to battle with the sword of honor in a Cause worth while. No Roman soldier would ever touch the detested weapons of the gladiatorial butcher-house. Spartacus abhorred them also. If only he could rig himself out in shining armour, with a Roman sword in his skillful hand—surely no mere soldier could stand before him!

So the dauntless Spartacus and 200 gladiators whom he had lined up for the project, made a burst for freedom one fine day just as the bloody games were starting. Due to the duplicity of a stool pigeon, only 78 of them managed to escape. These broke impetuously through the guard of Roman sentries, fought their way to the gates of the city and escaped down the Appian way. Seizing weapons on the road, the brave band did not stop until they reached the vine-clad heights of Mount Vesuvius. Three thousand Roman troops were immediately dispatched from Capua to hunt them down. That night the legion camped underneath the cliff where the gladiators were hiding. The situation was desperate.

Although vastly outnumbered, Spartacus and his heroic



UPTODATE METHOD OF FILLING A HAY LOFT

One of the many labor displacing devices of modern farming. This machine can do the work of dozens of men, and do it cleaner and quicker. Dozens of jobs less for harvest workers, and a whole lot more profit for the employer.

men, made a surprise attack in the dead of night. The legionaires, too confident of their numbers, were caught off guard and put to flight. A great number were killed and a large supply of arms and war material captured. The following day the gladiators adorned their mighty limbs with the polished armour of Roman centurians. The barbarous gladiatorial knives were thrown away in disgust.

Multitudes of slaves flocked to the rebel forces as soon as the story spread abroad.

Another army was sent to capture or kill the rebels. The gladiators, eager to try out their new weapons, made short work of their pursuers.

REVOLT SWEEPS ONWARD

Each of the original 78 was well trained in the use of arms. These men made splendid officers. After the little army had been well drilled it began to move forward, sweeping everything before it. The *ergastuli*, or prisons, were opened along the way and all class war prisoners were invested with full military dignity. The rebel army of Spartacus soon numbered 70,000 freed slaves, desperate, determined and well armed.

With these forces Spartacus met and defeated one of the greatest pro consuls of Rome. Afterwards he overran the rich territory of Campania, freeing his fellow workers from slavery and dungeon wherever he went. Labor organizers and agitators were dispatched to all parts of Italy. Unions sprang up like magic in all the industrial centers. Cicero, the notorious Roman labor-hater, after contemplating the successful career of the brave young rebel, exclaimed in despair to the Roman Senate: "Not only these ancient labor unions have their right of organization restored, but, by one gladiator, innumerable others and new ones, have been instituted."

By 74, B. C. the rebel forces numbered 120,000. These were supplied with armour, weapons and supplies. The labor unions of all Italy were secretly working to keep the army equipped with war material and food. Victory after victory perched upon the red banners of the rebel slaves, for the red

flag was the ancient and honored emblem of Labor centuries before Spartacus was born. A march on Rome was started. It failed because of dissensions within the revolutionary ranks. Crixus, a lieutenant of Spartacus, envious of the success and prestige of his chief, sought to induce a portion of the army to make a premature attack on the mighty city. He managed to lead 35,000 slaves to death and defeat. Spartacus crushed the army that had vanquished Crixus. All the Roman aristocrats who were captured were forced to fight each other on the arena with dishonored gladiatorial weapons, just as Spartacus and his men had been compelled to do in days gone by. The situation was completely reversed; the erstwhile slaves were the spectators and the haughty aristocrats supplied the amusement.

Consternation reigned in Rome. Another huge army was assembled. Like its predecessors it was demolished. The degenerate patricians, most of whom worked from one thousand to ten thousands slaves on their *latifundia*, began to see visions of themselves going to work for a living, or else, being thrown in jail for their crimes against labor. They were now thoroughly aroused to the seriousness of the situation.

"BETTER TO DIE A MAN THAN LIVE A SLAVE"

By this time Spartacus was in command of an army of 300,000 veterans. The often defeated Romans had now become cautious as well as determined. The slave army was harrassed for a long time but not given an opportunity to fight in the open. Finally Spartacus broke through the iron ring that surrounded his army and made a break for Sicily. No doubt his intention was to re-establish the free society that had been overthrown 27 years previously. But it was too late. The land owners of Rome had massed three great armies under three of its most famous generals, Pompey, Crassus and Lucullus. Spartacus and his huge army were now outnumbered. The combined forces of the Roman legions totalled nearly half a million, nearly all of them veterans of foreign wars.

A terrific and desperate battle occurred. But the gladiator and slave who had outgeneraled and defeated eight Roman armies, was this time doomed to defeat. The great Spartacus, witnessing the rout of the men with whom he had fought for freedom from slavery, rushed into the fray with indescribable fury and heroism. He was determined to sell his life dearly. His one aim was to meet the hated Crassus in personal combat before dying. "It was a fierce struggle. Long after victory was hopeless, Spartacus was traced by heaps of the slain who had fallen by his hand, and his body was lost completely in the awful carnage which closed that day of blood."

Most of the rebel heroes were butchered without mercy on the spot. Some managed to escape to the mountains. Thousands were crucified on the high road to Rome. The sacred right to exploit had once more been made secure. History says that Spartacus, like all his predecessors, was considered a saviour by the great masses that fought under his command.



OLD FASHIONED PLOWING

With a plow similar to this one our forefathers broke the virgin sod of the new continent. Now the old free frontier has vanished and the great mass of the people subjected to wage slavery. In plowing with a team this way, two and one half acres was considered a good day's work.

"PIE IN THE SKY"

The wave of terror that followed the last and greatest of the slave rebellions of ancient days lasted until long after the birth of Jesus—the last of the "saviours" of the slave class.

All the ancient labor unions merged into primitive Christianity. This was originally a communistic and revolutionary movement. Its early adherents were lynched and persecuted just as the I. W. W.'s of today are lynched and persecuted. And, like the I. W. W., their movement thrived on persecution.

Communistic Christianity became more powerful as the years passed by. Its doctrines of equality, brotherhood and justice were all drawn from the three types of unions out of which the movement sprang. The early Christians sought to establish "the kingdom of God on earth"—not in heaven only. They expected to see the millenium with their own eyes. Jesus, the rebel carpenter, was crucified as an agitator like thousands of other rebels of his day. Like Eunus, Athenion, Spartacus and other slave leaders, he was said to have been a wonder worker and a messiah. Today he stands as an imperishable monument to the fact that unpopular movements cannot be crushed with force.

Three hundred and twenty-four years after the death of Jesus the Roman empire, under Constatine, adopted Christianity rather than be overthrown by it. As a state religion it became harmless as far as its menace to the established order was concerned. The "kingdom of heaven" was placed somewhere up above the clouds and the equality of man came to mean the



PLOWING WITH A MODERN TRACTOR

This machine turns 6 furrows and very easily covers 50 acres per day. The work of turning the sod has become incomparably easier. Great steam plows are also occasionally used, turning as many as 10 furrows with one operation. These are being discarded in favor of the smaller and more efficient plow that is pictured above.

equality of the grave. From this time onward the once revolutionary movement has simply stood for submission on earth and "pie in the sky when you die."

Neither primitive Christianity nor the horrible and bloody uprisings that preceded it, overthrew the system of slavery. History has not yet sounded the hour for this hideous institution to disappear. Slavery ceased when changing conditions of society demanded another form of productive labor. When slavery became unprofitable it was abandoned. But the great labor revolts of ancient days did show the world that millions of noble workers lived in those times who would rather face death than endure the infamy of servitude. The productive system of the ancient world probably made it impossible for slaves to organize on industrial lines and achieve real solidarity on the job. Had it been in their power to do so they could have gained far more than they did with far less cost. A general strike of all harvest workers, organized into one mighty agricultural unit, might conceivably have forced the exploiting class from their backs. But these brave rebels deserve no blame, even if they fought blindly. All honor to their memory! They proved by their gameness that they were worthy to be called men!

ROTTEN ROME

The slave empire of Rome was dying of its own castes and its own corruption. In her last days the concentration of wealth into the hands of the idle few was only a little greater than it is in the United States today. Towards the end, torn asunder with labor troubles within and wars without, she sought to placate the rebellious slave population with free corn and amusements. "While the Egyptian fellah and the Moorish peasant were laboring in the fields, the sturdy beggars of Byzantium and Rome were amusing themselves at the circus, or basking on marble in the

sun." But this could not last for long.

When the slave market went to smash, Rome went to smash with it. The inevitable law of social change demanded a new foundation for society. Rotten old Rome, as hide-bound as the capitalist nations of today, could not do business on other than a slave basis. Goth, Vandal and Hun swept down on her, fat, senile, and defenseless. All that survived was the church that had amalgamated with her once despised labor unions. Rome had become nothing but a name.

Feudalism became the next step in human progress. The agricultural worker became a serf instead of a chattel.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SERFDOM

Rome crumbled to ruin because she could not adapt her hide-bound civilization to the need for new methods of production. Changing conditions had made slave labor a liability instead of an asset. With the smash-up of the slave market the machinery of production ceased to function. Progress demanded a social readjustment which the once powerful masters of the world were unable and unwilling to supply. Although containing within herself the germs of her own destruction Rome had not developed a class capable of managing affairs after slavery had been outgrown. The only forces that might possibly have saved her from ruin were the labor unions and the ancient communes. These had long since died upon her gibbets. Rome perished in the quagmire of hopeless slavery. Chaos followed the downfall.

The rich landowners, burdened with the ownership of millions of rebellious and now unprofitable slaves, found it more expedient to free than to feed their human live stock. Agricultural workers were at liberty to till the soil as more or less independent peasants, paying rent in kind or service to their erstwhile masters. This new class was too crushed and discouraged, after their centuries of futile revolt, to reassert the ancient rights of the com-



HARVESTING IN MODERN PALESTINE

The boss, with the pipe in his face, is no doubt telling the young lady harvest hand that the I. W. W. is not "kosher". A great deal of the harvesting in Palestine is still done in the old fashioned way.

mune. The crafts men were far too weak numerically to attempt the task. Following the repeated invasions of the Gothic and other barbarians the ancient world was ravaged by countless wars. Army after army swept across the once fertile lands leaving wreck and desolation in their wake. After each of these wars thousands of disbanded soldiers started fighting independently as predatory bandit bands. The work of the peasant in the fields was constant-

ly fraught with more danger and more uncertainty. These free-lance armies of robbers and invaders had leaders who were strong, resourceful and ambitious. They began to dispute with one another for coveted territories and new wars resulted.

Thus it happened that this period of devastation developed a new class of oppressors—the feudal nobility. These rough and daring chieftains succeeded in building themselves strongholds on strategic crags and hill-tops. Here they could carry on the work of highway robbery and exploitation without fear of reprisal or attack. The peasants, living in constant danger of pillage and devastation, were compelled to seek shelter and protection under the shadow of donjon and castle. These impregnable masses of stone and mortar became to them what the block-house was to the American frontiersman—a protection for the fields and a place of refuge in case of attack. In return for this protection and refuge, however, the poor serfs were compelled to render homage, labor and military service to their overlords. Also they were arbitrarily taxed in order that their masters might live in luxurious idleness. Ostensibly the feudal system was one of mutual interest and reciprocal service between lord and serf. However, true this might have been in the beginning it soon became a hollow pretense—as hypocritical as modern “democracy.”

THE GALLOWS AND THE “FIRST NIGHT”

Gradually the new despotism tightened its clutch upon the world. The feudal code of honor did not for long unite the exploiters and their victims. The serf became a degraded menial attached to and sold with the soil. He was very kindly permitted to live and reproduce his kind in delapidated shacks which clustered together in the shadow of the frowning castle on the hill. In the beginning each of these predatory principalities was a law unto its self, but in the end they united together into the feudal State in which the descendants of the old warrior chieftains become mere effeminate ornaments in the court of the king. Collectively the lordlings and their liege were as cruel and despotic to the serfs as they had been individually. The state always has been and is now merely an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class.

Previous to the consolidation of the robber dukedoms into the robber kingdom each nobleman made and executed his own justice, coined his own money, collected his own taxes and lived off the labor of his own serfs. Their rule became increasingly harsh. A gallows stood on each seigniorial estate on which serfs were hanged for even the slightest offense against the sacred laws of “property.” Agitators, rebels and malcontents were punished by having their hands and feet cut off or their eyes burned out. Each baron, or bishop, if the land happened to belong to the church had what was known as the *right of first fruits* or *the right of the first night*. This inhuman law made it compulsory for a peasant girl, on the night of her marriage, to submit to the lust of her lord before she could go home to her



MEXICANS HUSKING CORN BY HAND

Hand husking was the only known method until the machine, pictured on the opposite page was invented. From 60 to 100 bushels per day is an average day's work for one man. Indian corn, or Maize, is an American cereal. It was, like tobacco, introduced into Europe by the Spanish and English conquerors.

husband. To resist was rebellion, a crime which the law penalized with death. The violation of the girls of the working class was a pastime for the parasites of the Middle Ages just as it was with the patricians of Rome or as it is with the parasites of today.

Almost everybody has heard about the Robber Barons of those times. Not only did they rob the serfs but they forced these same serfs into bloody warfare for the conquest of new territories. They held up everybody who traveled on their roads, crossed their bridges or navigated their streams. In other words the Robber Barons were similar to the transportation, food and other profiteers of today who force the workingman to pay tribute every time he turns around.

THE CRUSADES AND LABOR CRUSHING

It must not be supposed that the period of Serfdom was without rebellions and revolts. Like the slaves of ancient times, the agricultural serfs on more than one occasion banded together in great numbers and tried to tear the white hands of their oppressors from their throats. The Church which had its birth in the slave uprisings of ancient days became a hot-bed of intrigue and autocracy. Where it was not actually the ruling power it was always and at all times on the side of the powerful. The Protestant church grew out of the Peasant Wars. It utilized the discontent of the serfs to build up its own "machine." There was but little difference between the two churches as far as the poor and down-trodden were concerned. Martin Luther used the same firebrand of hatred against the rebellious German peasants as he did against the church of Rome. The ruling classes had differences of opinion as to what brand of superstition should be crammed down the necks of the masses, but there was no difference of opinion as to what should be done to keep the work-



MODERN CORN HUSKING MACHINE

This marvelous invention picks and husks 7 acres per day. It promises to make corn husking a purely automatic process in the near future, which will tend to make the labor of harvest workers more and more unnecessary. But, of course, the boss will make a lot more money—and that's what he's after.

ers from coming into their own. Only in the broadest sense of the word was the Reformation a struggle for religious liberty.

Discontent reached an acute stage in Europe just before the starting of the Crusades. The ruling class had exploited the workers to the limit of endurance. When rebellion became imminent the serfs were led to Syria there to give outlet to their pent up feelings against the Saracens. It is an old trick and one the ruling class of all ages has often used and never forgotten. The Crusades were incidentally a series of vast raids which netted the Robber Barons a great deal of plunder. They also strengthened the Church in its struggle against the kings who would not yield to the temporal power of the Pope. Throughout this unholy war of rapine and pillage the Cross was used as a camouflage much as the flag is used today. In France, when the crusaders returned from Jerusalem in 1208 thousands of the Knights of the Cross were used to murder the workers and break their strikes just as the American Legion is doing at the present time. The results were ghastly. A "heresy" had been flourishing in Northern France for some time which declared the equality of all men, denied the authority of the church and the barons, and branded as theft all wealth in the hands of men who had not helped to produce it. This "heresy" held the "serf to be equal to the seignior" and that "he who does not work neither shall he eat." The aristocrats and priests put down the movement in a sea of blood. The Pope himself had decreed that this crusade was as "holy" as the one that took the holy city from the Turks. But this gigantic murderfest did not by any means break the spirit of "Jaques Bonhomme", as the peasantry was called. The *Jaqueries* or uprisings of the agricultural workers of France occurred at frequent intervals as long as the institution of serfdom endured.

JOHN BALL, WAT TYLER, JACK STRAW

England, in 1381 witnessed an armed uprising of serfs that has since become famous in story and song—the revolt of John Ball, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. These men were agitators who struck at the very roots of the system of serfdom. Their chief theme was the injustice of conditions that permitted a handful of idle nobles to live in luxury off the labor of the villeins, or serfs. They preached liberty, equality and social revolution. John Ball, at Black Heath held forth to great multitudes on the text:

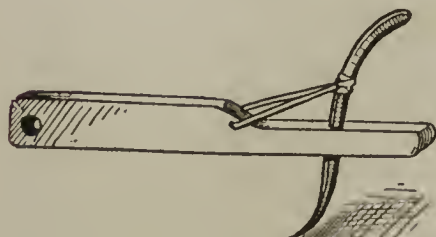
“When Adam delved and Eve Span
Who was then the gentleman.”

The peasants of Merry England deserted the field of their masters in large numbers. They armed themselves with long bows, sythes and captured weapons of all kinds and challenged the right of the parasites to rule. Whenever possible they burned to ashes the title deeds and court rolls which were the evidence of their villeinage. Judges, lawyers and jurors who had interpreted the “law” against the poor were beheaded as soon as seized. The rebels had a special animosity for court houses. A mob at London burned the palace of John the Gaunt and the temple containing paper titles to the land and the villeins who tilled it.

Agricultural workers in a vast multitude marched to London from the surrounding country and surrounded the Tower where the young king was then living. They demanded freedom for peasants born in bondage; in lieu of personal service a uniform rate of four pence an acre for the lands which they held and the abolition of tolls. In addition to this they also demanded pardon for the step they were forced to take in their own defense.

At first the king indignantly refused to deal with the rabble at all. But, after the Tower had been captured and half a dozen haughty aristocrats beheaded, the king agreed to meet the rebel army at Mile End. Here the nobility, with characteristic treachery, cut the throat of Wat Tyler while King Richard cajoled the peasants to return to the fields upon his solemn promise that justice would be given them. Once the rebel agricultural workers were safely out of London all promises were broken, the leaders of the revolt were executed and the rank and file driven back into villeinage more hateful than before. So much for the promises of parasites.

Another series of revolts took place some time after the crushing of the rebellion of John Ball. The best known of these was led by Kett in Norfolk. All were put down with bloodshed, treachery and cruelty. In Italy there were numerous uprisings of agricultural workers also. In many cases the peasants broke open the graneries and seized the wheat they had produced and for which they were starving. The Italian agricultural communes, organized in re-



ANCIENT PALESTINE
PLOW

mote times exist to the present day. In Germany, 1525, the Peasant War broke out and spread with great rapidity. This was probably wider in scope than any previous European labor revolt of the times. One of its dominating figures, Thomas Minzer was executed in Thuringia.

THE DAWN OF THE NEW DESPOTISM

But while these things were going on another class was gradually entrenching itself in power—a class that was destined to overthrow feudalism. This was the merchant or trading class out of which the modern capitalists grew. Progress demanded that manufacture and commerce be given a free rein in order that the world might meet its ever expanding needs. Feudalism, like Slavery, contained within itself the germs of its own destruction. It was called upon to meet new methods of production and to adopt itself to them. This, in its greed and blindness it refused to do. The result was a struggle between two types of exploiters—the nobleman and the merchant. It resulted in the final overthrow of the system of serfdom and the inauguration of wage-slavery. Manufacture could not thrive in a world that had serfdom as its basic foundation. “Free” or wage labor was demanded instead of agrarian servitude. The interests of the manufacturer conflicted with the interests of the lord. The former had progress on his side but the nobles did not yield. Ruling classes never do. Then came the deluge.

The great French Revolution of 1798 marked the overthrow of the feudal system and the ascendancy of the merchant, or capitalist class. The serfs did practically all of the fighting although they had nothing to gain excepting a change of masters. All the benefits of the change were reaped, as in the transition from slavery to feudalism, by the new ruling class. The bitter pill of wage slavery was sugared with coating of sweet phrases about Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, but all the poor peasants got from the deal was the privilege of being exploited in a factory instead of in the fields.

The capitalist class, the industrial oligarchy of present times, has since been firmly seated upon the backs of Labor, agricultural and factory alike. The wage slaves of today are now in the midst of a struggle as momentous as those which overthrew the systems of slavery and serfdom. The capitalist class is the world's last ruling class. The efforts of the human race to shake from it this nightmare of exploitation is the Final Battle of the Ages. When capitalism is destroyed there will be no more economic classes in society.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The downfall of capitalism is as certain as was the downfall of Slavery and the downfall of Serfdom. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness. It can no longer feed and clothe and house the people of the earth. Like all its predecessors it contains within itself the germs of its own destruction. The times are



HARVESTING WITH THE OLD FASHIONED CRADLE

The "cradle" is one of the fore-runners of the modern reaper. It laid the grain in swaths, so it could be raked and tied by hand. Two or three acres a day was about all a man would care to cut with one of them.

rotten ripe for change. The hour of doom has sounded and the system of production for profit instead of use is crumbling about our very ears.

Private ownership of the means of life is becoming more and more inefficient and criminal. Capitalism has ceased to be of service to the human race. It is now an obstruction to future progress. It has become purely parasitical. More and more the in-

habitants of the earth are realizing that the land and machinery of production, upon which the race in common depends, should be owned in common by those who use them and need them. The idea of the necessity of closing down industries and throwing millions out of employment because a few drones cannot make their customary profit is justly ridiculed by all thinking men and women. The thing to do is to take possession of these industries when the great crisis comes and to keep the wheels of production running that the human race may not be forced into starvation or chaos.

Capitalism, unlike Slavery has produced a class capable of taking charge when the present system collapses. In Russia the workers proved to the world that capitalists are no longer needed in industry. Also they built up a mighty Dictatorship of the Proletariat to protect the free society from counter revolutionary attack. Conditions in the United States are not identical with those in Russia by any means, but we are sure of one thing: the working class is destined by the iron law of history to wrest the world from the bloody hands of its present "owners" and to run it for the benefit of the human race instead of the enrichment of the few.

Let come what may the outcasts of today will be the masters of tomorrow.

THE CONDOR AND THE EAGLE

Europe, after the capitalist class had intrenched itself within the smouldering ruins of feudalism, was a hot-bed of intrigue and oppression. Karl Marx summed up the situation with an expressive phrase: "Capitalism came into the world dripping



MODERN BINDERS EQUIPPED WITH GRAIN SHOCKERS

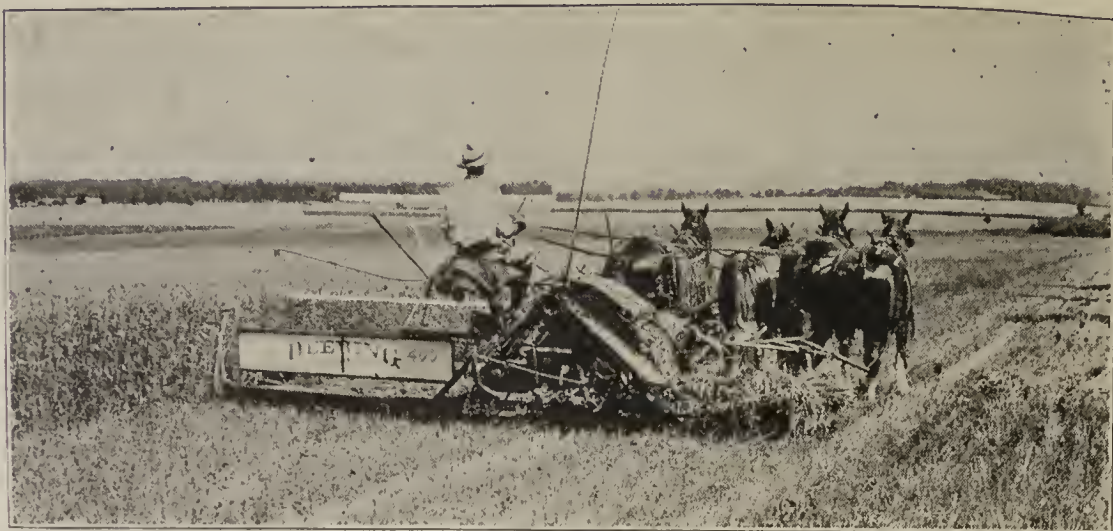
These machines cut and bind the grain with incredible rapidity. The Harvester thresher will cut, thresh, clean and bag a nine foot swath of grain at one operation. It will harvest and thresh 15 to 20 acres per day when weather conditions permit of its use. The machines pictured above, however, merely bind and shock the grain; the "bundles" being afterwards carted to the thresher.

blood and filth at every pore." The agricultural population was largely driven into the mills, mines and factories there to toil prodigiously that the ruling classes of the various capitalist nations might compete with one another for control of the world market.

After the settlement of the eastern shores of the new world the young continents of America began to germinate with the seed of social progress. In a comparatively short time they fell in line with the general development of Europe. In the United States, even in earliest times forces were at work that would eventually produce the evil weed of industrial autocracy. Capitalism must follow its natural bent here, just as in the rest of the world. But the country was so young and so full of manifold opportunities that years must elapse before the new despotism might enslave the people. Even today there are workers, known as "scissor-bills" who look at the present world through the eyes of their great grandfathers. They have not brought their minds up to date and therefore have the psychology of two generations ago.

But the early American pioneer, ever venturing westward into the wilderness lived over again the whole history of the human race. First came the daring explorer steering his adventurous canoe up the courses of uncharted rivers; the hunter, trapper and fisherman, blazing a trail across the untamed continent for multitudes yet unborn; then the first settlers with their families, agricultural implements and stock; also the farmer, and herder with their rough free life on the virgin prairies or the range in the middle of the last century, and finally the merchant, manufacturer and banker, erecting railroads along the old trails, factories at the junctions, court houses on the town commons and jails on the sites of the block-houses.

The capitalist class eventually dominated the land of our forefathers and put its heel-print upon the life of the nation. The traditions of the Revolution were forgotten and the government, as in the rest of the world, became all too frequently an instrument of working class repression. The principle of democracy



SEVEN FOOT GRAIN BINDER

This machine cuts a seven foot swath which it also binds into bundles. These bundles are shocked by hand and, afterwards loaded on wagons and taken to the threshing machine. This invention alone has made it possible to dispense with the labor of millions of harvest workers who were driven from the land to the great industrial centers. It has enriched the land owning class beyond the dreams of avarice.

was not extended into industry when the country became industrialized. The condor of industrial despotism luxuriated in the nest of the proud American eagle.

THE IRON LAW OF HISTORY

But capitalism was not always reactionary as it is today. In the beginning it was of real service to the human race. Progress had entrusted to capitalists the task of constructing a system of production that was adequate for the growing needs of the population. Industrial evolution had to follow its inevitable course. Wasteful competition had to be eliminated. Inefficient methods had to give way to organized and centralized production. Industry had to expand and keep pace with the progress of the world. In helping to make these things possible the early captains of industry were a help to society. They prepared the processes of production for the next inevitable step in human progress. They built up an industrial arrangement that could survive them when their services would no longer be needed. Like the early explorers they blazed the trail for the New Society that was to arise when the mission of capitalism had been fulfilled.

They prepared the industries for the ownership of the people.

The doom of private ownership in the means of life was sealed from the beginning. The process of industrial evolution was slowly but surely leading the masters of bread to a point where they would become purely parasitical—mere barnacles on the social organism. We must give the old school of capitalists credit for contributing immensely to the welfare of the human race. The forefathers of the present third generation idle rich helped to organize the wonderful mechanism of today. But this

is no reason why their profligate offspring should be supported in luxury to the end of time.

The same laws that produced capitalism are bringing about its collapse. The world is constantly changing. No system based on social parasitism has or can remain permanent. The egg of capitalism contains Industrial Communism just as surely as the egg of Feudalism contained that of Capitalism. The development in the egg is *evolutionary*; the process of breaking the egg is *revolutionary*. In a way the capitalists also were "building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The feudal lord and the modern capitalist stand together before the bar of history. The downfall of the latter is just as inevitable as that of the former. Whatever becomes a hinderance to human progress must go. Slavery, feudalism, capitalism; each in turn have yielded and must yield to the iron law of history.

America was primarily an agricultural country for many years. Before the land and machinery of production were monopolized the United States was in reality the land of opportunity. Capitalism could not enslave nor break the spirit of the American people as long as the frontier beckoned in the golden West. There was a time, in the early days, when a Yankee simply would not work for wages. Land was cheap out toward the sunset or, if farming did not allure, there were thousands of business opportunities that had not yet been gobbled up by monopolists. About the only things that would keep a man from succeeding were his own indifference or laziness. It was comparatively easy for the farm hand to become a farmer, the mechanic a manufacturer, the clerk a merchant. Classes and castes existed only in embryo. Strikes were few in number and local in character. The class struggle, like the industries in which it was developing, was still in its infancy. Wall street, in these days, had not yet taught the people to eat from its hand.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Gradually the old free America was changed. The western prairies were fenced in and the range became a series of ranches. A shining network of rails was thrown across the land and the historic trails were no longer trampled with hoofs of countless herds. The door of Opportunity was slammed in the face of the working class. Monopoly spread like a black plague upon the land. The industrial pirates of the East, not content with the millions of acres of land which had been conveniently given them by their government, defrauded both the government and people out of millions of acres more. The story of land grabbing and the hogging of the nation's industries is a long record of robbery and fraud. The titles to all the property of the United States began to find their way more and more into the strong coffers of the social parasites. Hand production was changed to machine production. Smoking factories sprang up in all directions. Eventually the whole nation was safely in the clutch of private



PITCHING HAY BY HAND

Working this way three strong men can pitch a load of hay in about an hour. The process is a laborious and wasteful one.

g r e e d. Capitalism, by means of a series of prodigious robberies, had reached its afflorescence. When the working class get ready to take back the world that was stolen from them they will use far cleaner tactics than did the present "owners" in getting possession.

The centralization of industry gave birth to marvelous machines which rapidly displaced the skill of the workers. Instead of lifting the burden of labor these wonderful inventions served only to enrich the favored few. The entire working class was reduced to the dead level of uninteresting drudgery.

Classes became ever more clearly defined and the class struggle ever more intense. Overproduction, strikes, wars and unemployment became more frequent and wider in scope. Wealth became more and more concentrated into the hands of an ever decreasing number of parasites. In the cities the machine proletariat had become divorced from the means of production; in the country the agricultural proletariat was shut off forever from ownership of the land. The possessing class became more powerful and the working class more dependent. On the one side, now that the system is "rotten ripe for change", stand the industrial autocrats, lawbuttressed and arrogant; on the other the rebellious tenants and workers, vaguely trying to comprehend the great changes that have taken place all about them. The breath of Revolution is already stirring in this miasmatic jungle of despotism and decay. America, like the France of 1779 is about to feel the birth-pangs of the new society. Will the hideous system of Capitalism leave the stage as it entered, "dripping blood and filth at every pore?" The future alone will tell.

MODERN SERFDOM—THE TENANT FARMER

Land tenantry is serfdom without the picturesque background of feudalism. It exists in America to a surprising extent. The Industrial Relations Commission, at the suggestion of William D. Haywood, investigated this disgraceful symptom of social sickness. Their disclosures have since been almost suppressed but any worker who has lived in the south knows of the real situation from first hand observation.

The tenant farmers, particularly those in the states of Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana, occupy a position peculiar to



COMBINED SWEEP RAKE AND STACKER

With this machine one man can do the work of ten—do it better and with far less effort. The machine can be used for stacking hay in the field or storing it in the hay mow.

themselves in the economic and social structure of the nation.

These people are not actual wage earners, but at the same time the most viciously exploited of any division of workers in the United States by the capitalist land owners.

In the Lone Star state there are no federal lands. A few persons have, however, schemed and contrived to gain possession of vast tracts of land that were formerly used for grazing purposes only.

A certain contractor for erecting the capitol building at Austin, Texas, came into possession of something like a million and a half acres of state land. The Dunlops are credited with owning some three million acres of land, while those who visited Widow King discovered that it is fifty miles from her front gate to the front door of her residence.

Armour and Company own huge tracts of land in California. The Taft Company owns a farm of 150 square miles. The holdings of the Miller and Lux Company run contiguously through six states and embrace millions of acres. Farming is not only becoming industrialized but the agricultural proletariat is now an established fact.

In this territory the typical farm renter of the south is the grand son of the aristocratic slave owning patricians, tall, clear eyed, broad shouldered, and deep chested. They marry young and are early burdened with a rapidly increasing family of children.

Equipped with a span of mules, a dead-ax, wagon, some household furniture, a coop of chickens, and his family aboard he is looking for a farm to rent. Traveling about he secures a piece of land forty or eighty acres from the Burlesons or Gregories of the south; usually rented by the season. For his tenure he gives a fourth of the corn and a third of the cotton he raises.

His temporary habitation is a miserable shack built of boards and batten which are little barrier for the cold Texas winds or the blazing hot summer sun.

"The Old Oaken Bucket" never originated on a tenant farm. There is no such thing as a well or a spring. Water for household use comes from an open cistern.

THE REFINEMENT OF EXPLOITATION

The farm owner exacts that all the land be tilled, and it usually is farmed up to the back door, leaving no pasturage for a cow. The tenant farmer and his children seldom taste the delicacies of milk, butter, and eggs which are supposed to go with farm life.

Crowd the houses of the farm renters together and you will have tenement quarters such as does not exist in any part of the world. Whitechapel, London or the east side of New York would be paradise in comparison with the jumbled shacks of the people who raise corn and cotton to feed and clothe others.

The tenant farmer in his overalls and broad brimmed hat stands alone and helpless. Robbed as are the black men of the south, he accepts his condition with little protest.

The crop he raises, good or bad as it may be, after giving the share exacted by the land owner, does not then belong to the man of toil. He has been compelled to borrow a little money from the bank for which he must pay an excessive interest. He has purchased some supplies from the store on all of which he has paid an exorbitant profit.

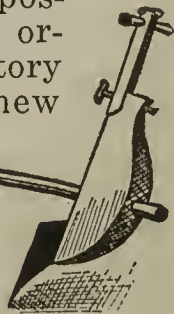
When he comes to sell his crop, the cotton is baled and hauled to market. A Commissioner or Sales Agent inspects the cotton and says with an air of authority, "This is short." He will then quote a price three or four cents less than the market value. Thus it can be seen though cotton may be King the man who produces is robbed in four ways: Rent, interest, profit, and commission, all of which he meets at the point of production.

Not only is the farmer himself robbed but his entire family. His children during cotton picking time are in the field—little babes four and five years old, dragging along tiny sacks picking off their mite of cotton from the plants, while the mother leaving her nursing babe at one end of the row drags herself through the fields of green and white gathering, as it were, the material to make the shrouds of her class.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PLOW

The evolution of farming machinery that made possible the rise of the agricultural proletariat and its organization is a fascinating story in itself. The migratory harvest worker became a factor in the industry when new and wonderful inventions displaced his skill and made his continuous employment unnecessary and unprofitable. There is no doubt, with the old hand methods prevailing, the services of these wandering in-

ANCIENT
EAST INDIAN
PLOW



dustrial hordes would be required on the farms the year round.

In primitive times the plow was merely a stick used to scratch the surface of the soil. In the days of slavery the plow, although crudely fashioned of wood and bronze, had already begun to assume the appearance of the modern implement. Sometimes ancient plows were pulled by oxen but more frequently by male or female slaves—sometimes yoked together with the beasts of the field. The plow of the ancient Britons was a very rude affair; no man being considered qualified to be a farmer until he could make his own plow. In these days the custom prevailed of fastening the share to the tails of the oxen. This cruel practice was stopped by law in 1634. The old Normans drove their small ox teams through the fields of early England in this manner, breaking clods of earth with the war-ax that had helped them to conquer the country.

The first iron plow was imported from Holland to England in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was known as the "Rotterdam plow." This was repeatedly improved upon and was soon used on a large scale. In 1785, Robert Ransome of Ipswich obtained a patent for making plowshares of cast iron, and in 1803 he improved his article by a process of chilling and case hardening.

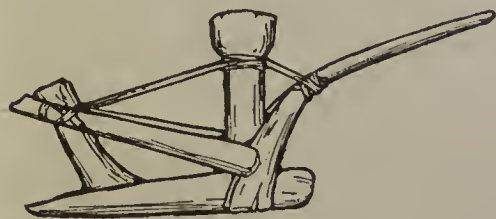
One of the first men to improve the plow in the United States was President Thomas Jefferson. His experiments were crowned with success. In 1837, Daniel Webster, the great statesman, invented a plow for work twelve and fourteen inches deep, cutting a furrow twenty-four inches wide. In speaking of his invention Mr. Webster said:

"When I hold the handles of my big plow in such a field, with four pair of cattle to pull it through, and hear the roots crack and see the stumps all go under the furrow out of sight, and observe the clean, mellowed surface of the plowed land, I feel more enthusiasm over my achievement than comes from my encounters in public life at Washington."

Admirable statesman! Isn't it a pity that Woodrow Wilson did not try to invent a weed eradicator for instance instead of wasting his time in pompous phrase-making with other senile half-wits at Versailles?

The first cast iron plow in America was invented by Charles Nebold, of New Jersey. This ingenious gentleman spent over \$30,000 in perfecting and introducing his plow. He finally gave up in despair as farmers had in some way imbibed the strange superstition that cast iron plow *poisoned* the land, impaired the fertility and *promoted the growth of rocks!* The stupid prejudice against the One Big Union idea of today is hardly less absurd.

Sheet steel was next used in the manufacture of plows, but this soon gave way to parts of hardened and highly polished



ANCIENT PLOW

Type used by slaves of antiquity.



THRESHING GRAIN WITH THE FLAIL

The slow and wasteful method of the centuries that was replaced with the modern threshing machine. The straw was occasionally turned with a fork. A crude fanning mill, worked by hand, blew away the chaff.

flail to separate the kernel from the chaff. Sometimes this was done by permitting hogs or oxen to trample it with their hoofs. Even today there are men who can remember how farmers, in the old times, would sow their wheat broadcast, cradle it and tie the bundles by hand; trample it out with horses or beat it out with the flail. Corn and other products were planted by hand and tilled with the hoe. It was with such crude implements and the home-made broad-ax that our forefathers conquered the wilderness.

On some small farms at the present time the tools differ but little from those of a century ago, but, on the whole, the old methods have been largely replaced. The hand sythe and cradle have given way to the mowing machine and the modern threshing rig. The plow, seed-drill, rake and cultivators are also thoroughly modernized. The walking plow made way for the gang-plow and this by the power tractor turning eighteen furrows at an operation and plowing twenty-five or thirty acres per day in place of the pioneer's one or two. The seed drill now does the work of many busy hands. The time-honored flail and cradle were replaced by a crude tread machine, propelled by horse power which used a hand bellows to blow away the chaff, the bundles being tied by hand with straw. This made way for a slightly improved thresher which cut the grain and tied the bundles with wire. Afterward binding cord was used and the bundles were stacked in the field as well as merely cut and tied. The modern power threshing machines can cut, bind, head and thresh as high as one hundred to one hundred and sixty acres of grain in a day.

As can be plainly seen the modern machine process has greatly displaced labor in agriculture. The man fortunate enough to own land and machinery at the present time can easily work five times the acreage that was possible with the old

cast steel, which are in use at the present time.

Modern farming is done by machinery of the most efficient type. Agriculture, in this respect, has kept pace with the industrial development of the world. At one time—and for centuries in fact—men turned the soil with the crudest of plows, sowed and reaped their grain by hand and beat it with a



A MODERN THRESHING RIG

One of these machines, worked with a tractor, can thresh a quarter section of grain in one day. These labor displacing inventions are now operated largely by migratory workers who follow up the harvest each season. Such machines are the direct cause of the development of the migratory agricultural proletariat.

methods. For instance with the cradle; a number of men were required to rake the swath of grain into heaps the size of a bundle or sheaf. These had to be tied by hand with straw. Then followed the workers who pitched, carted and threshed the grain. The first machine reapers, drawn by horses and dropping the bundles at regular intervals made this work still easier—two men easily doing work that previously required six or seven. With the up-to-date harvesting machines the entire process, from cutting to bagging can be done at one operation. The work is almost entirely mechanical. Twenty or twenty-five men can thresh as much in a day as would take months to do with the flail.

One man with a flail used to be able to thrash about 25 bu. of wheat in one day. Today with modern machinery 20 men thrash 2,000 bu. of wheat per day, 4 times as much as could be done by the old method. One man with a cradle could cut four acres of wheat a day, one man with modern machinery—a Header—can cut 40 acres a day, ten times as much as by the old method. Man could hoe about one acre of corn a day, with modern machinery one man is able to tend 20 acres as easily as one acre used to be tended, 20 times as much as by the old method. The production of agriculture in general is about ten times greater per man than it was a century ago.

AGRICULTURAL WORK BECOMES SEASONAL

The evolution of agricultural machinery has displaced about three quarters of the labor necessary on the farms. Where the farmer at one time found it impossible to do without the assistance of a number of workers the year round he can do the work himself with the exception of short intervals such as the spring, when he is rushed in getting his ground prepared and planted or in haymaking and harvest time when he needs extra help with the wheat and corn. Thus agricultural workers—even the children of farmers—must of necessity become migratory. Two months intensive labor during the harvest, etc., is practically all that is required of casual help. In other words,

agriculture has now become largely a seasonal occupation.

With the exception of winter wheat and rye—when the ground is prepared and sowed in the fall—the plowing and planting is done in the spring. The second crop is small grain—rice, wheat, rye, oats, barley, etc. The harvesting of this crop starts in Texas about the first of June, in Oklahoma about the fifteenth, Kansas, the twenty-fifth, Nebraska, about the first of July, Iowa and Southern South Dakota, about the fifteenth of July, northern South Dakota and southern North Dakota the first of August, northern North Dakota and southern Canada about the fifteenth of August and in northern Canada about the first of September.

The third seasonal crop is the apple, peach, pear, plum and other fruit harvest, which is generally gathered from the fifteenth of September to the fifteenth of October. The fourth crop, consisting of potatoes, sugar-beets, peas, beans, etc. is gathered along in October before heavy frosts set in or the ground freezes. The fifth and last, of the seasonal harvests jobs is the husking of corn which generally starts about the twentieth of October, after there have been several killing frosts so that the corn will keep.

The machine process has displaced the labor of thousands of workers in the agricultural industry. It has made agriculture a seasonal instead of a permanent occupation. It has made millions of workers landless and driven them to the industrial centers—the mills, mines and factories where the same machine process displaces skill in the same manner and threw them bodily into the ranks of the army of the unemployed. It is largely from the unemployed that seasonal workers are recruited.

The modern harvest "stiff" finds his employment in following the ripening crops and is hence migratory out of sheer necessity. Outside of harvest time he often works in the lumber woods or at railroad construction. Some of them also come from the cities where they work the greater part of the year. All try to save a small stake during the harvest and threshing and go to the great cities where they hang out in cheap lodging houses and eat in cheap hasheries during the cold months of winter. A great number go to Seattle and Portland after the harvest is over in North Dakota and from there to California where the climate is warm and living conditions cheap. Some follow the crops far into northern Canada. The harvest "stiff" fills the bread-basket of the world. His migrations take him up and down the land and across it.

WHAT THE UNORGANIZED WORKER MUST FACE

The conditions that face the unorganized agricultural worker beggar description. Owing to his individual helplessness he is at the mercy of every avaricious "shack", every brutal "bull" and every grasping farmer who sees fit to exploit his misery. These men are forced to endure conditions that organized workers would not tolerate for a moment. Their food



HARVESTING WHEAT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

In this part of the island continent the wheat crop is about 30,000,000 bushels, less than half of the State of Minnesota; but it must be remembered that in the whole of Australia there are fewer people than in the City of New York. But the workers in Australia have learned that labor saving machinery, instead of benefiting the great majority, has only served to enrich the few.

is scanty and usually of the poorest quality. Their hours of labor are unendurably long and they usually receive "the going wage." Their daily toil in the blistering sun is arduous in the extreme. The ancient slave was clothed, fed and housed for the work he did. When sick his master furnished assistance and shelter at his own expense. The medieval serf got protection and sustenance out of the stuff he raised. But the harvest "stiff" of modern times is thrown on his own resources to sell his labor power as best he can. He is a worker without a home or a country. Very seldom does his seasonal job net him enough to live until the harvest calls him to his yearly task. Many times he is forced to fall back on the soup line until he can sell himself to another master. Housed worse than the beasts and treated like a dog, he usually makes a good revolutionist when educated to his class interests.

The unorganized agricultural workers have to face long hours, low wages, bum "chuck" and rotten conditions in sleeping quarters. Bathing facilities are usually non existent and uniformly denied to the "stiff" even where they are to be found. In the western states these workers are forced to carry their own beds from place to place. Often no sleeping accommodations are furnished excepting the straw-stack, a wagon of the header-box. Inside quarters, when these are furnished, are as a rule filthy and vermin-infested.

Unorganized harvest workers are misled by employment sharks. Often entire districts are flooded with "hands" at the behest of the Commercial Clubs, in order that labor may be cheaply purchased. Transportation to the harvest fields or from job to job is never furnished thus making it necessary for the "stiff" to "beat his way." Many times train crews force them to dig up their hard-earned coin in exchange for the precarious privilege of riding a freight train. Capitalist newspapers play into the game of the Commercial Clubs by sending out lying statements about good wages and plenty of work in places that

are flooded with men. Also they carry on a regular propaganda for students and "white collar" workers of the scissor-bill type to pour into the harvest fields in an effort to defeat the attempts of the agricultural workers to organize. The filthy papers of the kept press never miss an opportunity to misrepresent the harvest "stiff" by stating that his chief delight is burning up threshing rigs and destroying things generally. The various State Administrations almost invariably stamp the conspiracy of the Commercial Clubs to smash unions and to manhandle union men with the seal of their approval. Papers and leaflets telling the truth about job conditions and urging the harvest slaves to organize are denied the use of the mails. Delegates and organizers are arrested on sight and often on suspicion. But in spite of all this the work of building up the One Big Union of Agricultural workers goes on uninterruptedly. Such repressive and despotic measures only make the workers more determined to organize. Furthermore they serve to show the harvest workers who are their enemies and how best to overcome them.

THE FARM "HAND"

The monthly farm "hand" is usually a different species of animal. He is of the home-grown variety and sometimes nurses the delusion that, in some unknown and miraculous manner he will become a full-fledged farmer himself some day. This kind of worker does not travel much and consequently lacks the education which familiarity with different industries and different parts of the country gives a man. His viewpoint is much more restricted. Being employed the year round and unorganized as a rule, the farm hand receives and is satisfied with far less pay than the organized harvest worker is in a position to demand. Many of these workers, however are learning their true position in capitalist society by means of study, observation and the pressure of harsh experience. Revolutionary propaganda and Industrial Unionism has a certain appeal to their intelligence and interests. In a great many cases they have lined up with their seasonal fellow workers and have become deep students of the Labor Movement and good organizers as well. Each and every one of them is needed to help make the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union a success.

CALIFORNIA—SUNSHINE AND SLAVERY

Sunny California has a fruit, hops and grain harvest that is unique in itself. Here the migratory workers find employment in the many canneries as well as in the fields. Needless to say these wage-slaves are exploited and oppressed as elsewhere. The Wheatland hop strike of 1913 and the resulting unjust conviction of its leaders, Ford and Suhr, to life sentences in the penitentiary is one of the tragic chapters of American labor history. There are probably more big bonanza farms in California than any other state. The Miller and Lux ranches, if placed adjoining one another, would make a plot of ground bigger than the State of Illinois. Farming in California, as in some parts of Texas, is industrialized. Nearly all of the labor is performed by



THRESHING WHEAT ON A WESTERN FARM

Without the migratory worker and labor-saving machinery the wheat fields of the West would be practically valueless. Only under a Free Society, where production is carried on for use instead of profit, can the human race reap the benefits of the inventive genius of master minds.

wage-slaves—white, Mexican and Hindu. The middle-class independent farmer is a negligible factor. Many of these workers are organized strongly in spite of most repressive anti-labor "Criminal Syndicalism" laws. Many migratory workers in the state have followed orange picking exclusively for as long as twenty years.

The Miller and Lux ranches are known as "the Dirty Plate Route", because workers traveling from job to job can always stop off for a frugal bite to eat—from a "dirty plate". The reason for this piece of generosity is that the company seeks always to have an adequate supply of labor on hand for their needs. The culinary workers on the ranches, resentful of a constantly glutted labor market, even things up by failing properly to attend to the matter of dish washing.

Among the food products of California may be mentioned, potatoes, onions, and all kinds of garden truck. Beans are raised in great quantities, the acreage increasing yearly. Rice, wheat, oats and barley are also raised. But fruit is what has made California world-famous. The "Golden State" is noted for its apples, peaches, pears, cherries, lemons, oranges, grape-fruit, apricots, melons, cantaloupes, persimmons and grapes. Walnuts and almonds are staple crops.

The sunny valleys between the Sierras and the coast range are tremendously fertile and produce in abundance. In some parts, seven and eight crops of alfalfa are cut during the year. In contrast to the above statements we may add that the water supply, on the whole, is poor. As a result malarial fever takes its toll of the lives of the workers. Conditions of labor on the ranches are generally bad—long hours, poor food and small pay. The summers are long, dry and hot; the winters noted for heavy rains. The migratory workers of the state eke out a precarious existence following up the different crops, working in the woods, packing houses and canneries. California is said to be the land of sunshine, fruit and flowers. It is also the land of graft, corruption and exploitation.

CAN THE POLITICIAN HELP?

In the face of such conditions what must the agricultural worker do to better his lot in life? Vote, says somebody. But the majority of harvest workers are debarred from a participation in political affairs by reason of the fact that they are not permitted to remain in one place long enough to register and to vote. Their economic needs have taken the franchise away from him. The place in society into which they have been thrust by inexorable social laws, has denied them the privilege of exercising their rights as citizens. In addition to this they have learned that electing politicians to office is a most unreliable method of bettering economic ills, the remedy for which lies in the use of economic weapons.

The "stiff" has found out that political government itself is the reflection of industrial power. He believes that when the workers take over the industries the political government will reflect their economic interests just as it now does the interests of the capitalist class. To be frank, the agricultural worker has seen laws passed in favor of Labor—like the eight hour law, for instance—and has noticed that these laws are never effective unless the workers have the power on the job to enforce them, and he has come to think that the surest way of gaining demands is to strike for them at the point of production. Then too, he has seen numbers of socialist candidates elected lawfully who were denied office because the ruling class did not wish them seated. He has lost faith in politicians and is skeptical about the whole of politics. The only political institution he looks upon with favor at all—at best only a temporary one—is something like the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which will enable the workers to hold off the sinister forces of reaction and repression until the workers themselves take over the world and its industries which rightfully belong to them.

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY VS. CRAFT DIVISION

The star of hope for the agricultural worker is therefore *industrial organization*. Political bodies made up of politicians ignorant of or indifferent to the facts and realities of *industry* are not competent to legislate upon matters concerning the industrial needs of the workers. The workers who operate industry and know its needs are better qualified than anyone else to take charge of their own destinies by means best suited to themselves. Industrial organization is necessary because it is impossible for workers to improve their conditions when they face the employing class divided or as mere individuals. They learn in the industrial union of their industry not only to work together, but to think and to act together—to co-operate for their mutual advancement. Industrial organization—One Big Union—alone makes it possible for agricultural workers to gain the power necessary to fight the everyday battles with the employing class, and eventually to overthrow the hellish capitalist system and claim the world for the workers. In other words, industrial organization spells HOPE because it points the way, through the

nightmare of the present, to the Workers' Commonwealth of the Future which is the just heritage of all who toil.

Craft unions are impossible in agriculture on account of the very nature of the industry. As in lumbering and mining, vast bodies of workers are thrown together as a mass to produce certain things that the human race needs. Unlike manufacturing, their work is not divided into shops

or mechanical processes. The A. F. of L., recognizing this fact has, very wisely, never attempted to organize the brawny toilers of the fields. Craft unions in agriculture would be absurd in the extreme. Imagine "unions" composed of threshing machine men, team drivers and bundle pitchers all working on the same job and with contracts expiring at different times! In this manner one "craft" would be compelled to scab on another, just as is done in industries controlled by the A. F. of L. today. Craft unions would be valueless to agricultural workers for the same reason that they are valueless to all other workers. They split the ranks of Labor. They are out-of-date and not adapted to the needs of modern industry. They are based on the false theory that the interest of Capital and Labor are identical. They only serve to confuse and mislead the workers in the interests of their employers.

The advantages of the industrial form of organization are obvious, First, *more solidarity*; secondly greater concentration of effort; third, complete cessation of work whenever necessary to shut down the entire industry thus making strikes far shorter and more effective than they are at present. "Hi-jacks", brutal marshalls and "shacks" will become as tame as kittens when the "stiffs" are organized into One Big Union and in a position to co-operate with other workers organized likewise. The advantages of the industrial form of organization are that it solidly unites *all* the workers in one industry. Unity is strength. If the workers of all industries were organized in this way they would be so powerful that nothing could resist them.



CAUCASIANS WINNOWING WHEAT

The grain is tossed into the air with large wooden shovels or "fans", as the Bible speaks of them, the wind blowing away the chaff. Contrast this picture with that of a modern threshing rig. Then think how very little all the improvements in machinery have benefited the men who actually do the work.

EXPLOITATION AND ITS REMEDY

The immediate benefits of industrial organization are shorter wages and better conditions. The loggers of the Northwest organized themselves into a powerful union under an I. W. W. charter and compelled the lumber trust to give better bunk houses, shower baths, clean linen and good grub. In addition to this they gained the eight hour day and did away with the practice of packing "bindles." Agricultural workers can do all this—and more by organizing likewise.

The ultimate aim of organized agricultural workers is to do away with wage slavery and land tenantry. For the *real* workers to take over the industry and run it in co-operation with the workers of all other industries for *use* instead of *profit*—for the benefit of *the entire human race* instead of a few landlords and idle parasites. This will do away with human exploitation and insure happiness and freedom for all the people of the world.

If agricultural—or any other—labor received the full product of its labor there would be no class struggle. The trouble is that all labor is exploited—robbed—at the point of production. Workers produce far more on the job than is given them in return for their labor. The wage slaves, sharing in neither the ownership of the land or the machinery of production, must sell their labor-power in order to live. They must sell themselves as wage slaves to men who are in a position to give them access to the means of life. The owners return to the workers only a small portion of the product of their toil in the form of "wages." The rest they keep. Agricultural workers are exploited at the point of production in exactly the same manner as workers in other industries are exploited—by producing what is known to social scientists as "surplus value." Each worker produces commodities by his labor on the job. Labor power is also a commodity—something that can be bought and sold. The capitalist buys the labor power and pays for it—in the form of wages—just enough to reproduce it. In other words, just enough to enable the wage slave to exist. Everything above this the capitalist keeps. Farmers, like other employers, pay on the average just enough to enable their workers to get food, clothing and shelter—such as they are—just enough to enable the workers to return to the job day after day and expend their labor power in the production of other commodities. All value created by labor, over and above the cost of its reproduction, is called "surplus value." It is thus that labor is robbed at the point of production. There is not a dollar of any great fortune in the world that was not wrung from the working class in this manner.

THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OWN UNION

We have shown how craft unions and political action are of but little or no benefit to agricultural workers and that industrial organization is their only hope. Is there a union then, built up along these lines that will enable the agricultural "stiff" to achieve prosperity and freedom? There is such a union, and it has met with great success from its inception.

The first organization of this kind in the United States was

the Agricultural Workers' Organization—the A. W. O., of the Industrial Workers of the World. This union was at first known as Local 400. It is now known as the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110 of the I. W. W. This organization was founded in the spring of 1915 at a conference of a small group of ag-



RICE THREASING IN JAPAN

Harvest workers in Japan threshing rice by hand, the stalks being drawn through a rough wooden comb. Rice is the chief crop raised by the Japanese, the yearly production being about 250,000,000 bushels. Two thirds of the population of the world subsists on a rice diet.

ricultural workers organized in the I. W. W. The first conference was held in Kansas City, Mo., in April, 1915. The idea was to have One Big Union in the agricultural industry instead of a number of autonomous locals. The A. W. O. proved to be a success from the start. It made great headway among the harvest workers and was very successful in raising wages, shortening hours and improving conditions. The formation of the A. W. O. was an important point in the history of the I. W. W. It marked the transition between the propaganda period and job organization. The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union has been of such tremendous value to the harvest "stiff" since its birth that all the combined powers of capitalistic repression during the bitter period of the war have been unable to uproot it from the harvest fields.

FARMERS, WORKERS AND THE REVOLUTION

In the face of the great world crisis that is approaching it is necessary for progressive farmers and progressive workers to reach a better understanding. Both of them are necessary to any programme of social change. Both are organized.

During the acute period of the Coming Change these two elements can save the world a great deal of suffering and disorder by acting in unison. This very necessary step is in no sense of the word a compromise with the "politicians" on the part of the I. W. W. It is simply a means of getting together with earnest and sincere men of different schools of thought who are also determined to bring the system of exploitation to a close. The day of narrow and intolerant dogmatism is past. It is now necessary, in view of the imminent breakdown of capitalism, to reach an understanding with other powerful bodies who are necessary to the success of the revolution.

Even under present-day conditions organized farmers and organized harvest workers can co-operate to advantage by

agreeing about the supply of union labor necessary to take care of the crops of different districts. Questions of union halls—as labor distributing and union supply stations—and of transportation might also be considered. Wages, hours and sanitary conditions might be decided by means of tentative agreements—not contracts—but a mutual understanding as to a certain amount of work for certain wages during harvest time. There must always be some kind of agreements. For instance: men on strike agree to return to work when their demands are granted. Tentative agreements may enable workers and farmers to unite against the common enemies of both—the banker, commission parasite, Chambers of Commerce and the transportation pirates. Such understandings would do good however only on a large scale. Contracts with individual farmers are impossible and of no value.

WORKING FARMERS AND CAPITALIST FARMERS

Farmers are not all in the same class. There are working farmers and capitalist farmers. The interests of agricultural workers and capitalist farmers are diametrically opposed. The revolution will expropriate these land-hogs just as was done in Russia. Their vast estates will be the property of the whole people. They will be worked on the communal plan and managed democratically through the Industrial Union Councils. All of these large areas of productive land will be industrialized and operated as industrial units. The most up-to-date machinery and scientific processes will be used. It is more than probable that all farming will be done in this manner eventually because small farming is both arduous and inefficient. But small farmers will have to be won over to the idea of scientific production by logic and education instead of force. It would be a fatal mistake to compel an individual farmer to give over his land to a communal “experiment”. During the revolution, and possibly for a generation afterwards, the small farmer will not be troubled. Perhaps small farms will continue to exist under the New Society. If men and women wish to be secluded from the crowd and are willing to put up with the inconveniences of rustic simplicity there should be no one to stop them. There will be land enough for all when capitalism is overthrown. Each man is entitled to own all the land he can operate. No human being should or will be denied the right to “sit under his own vine and fig tree.”

At the present time the interests of the working farmers and the agricultural workers are, in the main, identical. Both are in fact workers. It is to the interests of both that rent, interest and profit be done away with. A working farmer is just as thoroughly exploited as a wage worker, even if he owns a little farm and is out of debt. The working farmer is dependant upon the elevators, the railroads and the commission sharks to store, haul or buy his products. But he has no control over these and no

voice in the matter at all. Consequently they make a practice of charging "all the traffic will stand". The same is true of the machinery trust. This mighty organization has always been militantly opposed to labor. The anti-union policies to which it has always strictly adhere were directly responsible for the unjust hanging of the Haymarket martyrs of 1887. The harvester trust has enriched itself incredibly at the expense of the farmers of America. It profiteered shamelessly during the war and afterwards. It is one of the biggest and most rapacious trusts in America today.

Think for a moment of the immensity of this private enterprise and of the millions dependant upon it for bread! Its plant in

Chicago alone covers 229 acres. It turns out annually 35,000 completed agricultural machines as well as 60,000 tons of binding twine—enough to go 380 times around the Earth. It owns its own mines, railroads, steamships and steel mills. The Agnew mine, at Hibbing, Minnesota, the Hawkins mine at Nashwauk, Minnesota and the Illinois mine at No. Freedom Wisconsin, are its properties. Its blast furnaces at South Chicago have a capacity of 700,000 tons per year. In addition to these the harvester trust own its own timberlands, saw-mills and lumber yards. Its timber properties are at Deering, Missouri. The saw mill cuts every year 15,000,000 feet of lumber yearly. It owns the second largest lumber yard in the world in Chicago. Altogether 60,000,000 feet of lumber are used annually in the production of agricultural machinery.

Think of an industry as vast and important as this one being entirely under the direction and control of a small coterie of predatory profiteers! Think of the marvelous productivity of the modern machine process when, according to the boast of the harvester trust itself: "the vast factory is now so magically automatic that with 6,000 workmen it can build a large percentage of all the grain harvesting machines produced in the world!"

The above facts will help to show how it happens that the farmer is left only a bare subsistence for his labor. Of course



CHATTAL SLAVERY IN THE OLD SOUTH

Colored workers were first imported to work on the large plantations of the South. These were housed, fed, clothed, and taken care of when they were sick. The modern "free" harvest worker is a wanderer upon the face of the earth. He sells his body on the labor market to whoever will buy. Wage slavery is as intolerable as chattal slavery.

there are farmers who, all absorbed in their narrow greedy world, will continue to fight their battles alone. Such men are hard to deal with at all times. There are many others who are broad-minded—even radical who despise the capitalist system and strive to bring about Industrial Democracy. At the I. W. W. trial in Chicago many of these testified in favor of the defendants. It would be a shortsighted policy indeed for organized agricultural workers to refuse to co-operate with them against a common enemy. This step becomes more necessary as the life of capitalism becomes shorter and shorter. Not only this but rebel agricultural workers should work energetically to spread the doctrine of industrial communism among all farmers, particularly small owners and tenants. This educational measure is imperative because this class of people must be organized to co-operate at the right time with the workers of the great industrial centers by supplying food products in exchange for manufactured articles, tools, machinery, clothing, shoes, etc. Without this co-operation the workers of the cities would be faced with starvation in times of revolution. Moreover if the farmers as a class are unorganized and uneducated along class lines the capitalists could recruit an army from among their ranks to crush the workers of the cities and strangle any movement for emancipation. By working in harmony farmers and workers are both helping to build the structure of the New Society within the shell of the old. They are not only preparing for a day of crisis but for a day of emancipation.

SOLIDARITY—WHAT IT MEANS

The aim of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union is to achieve industrial solidarity in the agricultural industry. The aim of the Industrial Workers of the World is to make solidarity possible for the workers in the world's industries. It is only united action—solidarity—that the workers can win their struggles with the master class today or be able to throw off the shackles of wage slavery tomorrow. Solidarity for agricultural workers means: first that they shall have unity of thought by getting together in meetings and conventions, comparing ideas and arriving at an agreement about what conditions have to be met and how best to face them. Second, there should be unity of action, for without this the best plans and ideas are of no benefit. Get together! Think together! Act together! The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union will grow just in proportion as its members work together to make it a success.

Apart from the obvious advantages of the One Big Union plan of organization, solidarity makes possible the production of 100 per cent union made goods. In the A. F. of L. the label usually signifies merely that the craft in charge of the last process of production was unionized. No assurance can be given that *all* the workers whose labor was necessary to turn out the finished product were union men. Take a loaf of bread for example. It carries the label, but does this mean that it is strictly a union labor product? Let us see.

In the first place was the seed planted by union farm help? Was the grain cut and threshed by union harvest hands? Were both planting and reaping done with union made machinery, using union made gasoline or coal? Was the grain hauled by union teamsters in union made wagons to union elevators? Was it ground into flour by union mill hands, transported by union railroaders and carted to union bakeries in union made trucks? Unless all these processes are unionized then it is a misnomer to call the finished loaf of bread "union made". Unlike the craft-divided A. F. of L. the I. W. W. plan of organization makes possible the production of union made bread from the sowing of the seed to the baking of the loaf. The same is true of other industries. Figure it out for yourself.



THE FRUIT HARVEST IN CALIFORNIA

California has a harvest typical her own. The Golden State is noted for her luscious fruit and feudal labor conditions. It is the land of sunshine and industrial tyranny. California produces an abundance of everything—including albor-hatred. Her parasite class is just a trifle more greedy and brutal than that of any other state in the Union. But her agricultural workers are organized "for keeps" in the I. W. W.

TACTICS, GOOD AND BAD

Agricultural workers should join the I. W. W. because it is the only tried and true, clear-cut revolutionary industrial union in America. Members can best work for the organization by first becoming thoroughly familiar with its principles, aims and objects; and then endeavoring by all means within their power to educate and organize their fellow workers. The most effective way is to distribute I. W. W. leaflets, pamphlets, books and papers. Every member should be a contributor to the I. W. W. press. All workers lined up in the harvest fields should keep their Red Cards paid up and transfer into their proper Industrial Union as soon as they leave the harvest fields for other lines of work.

Waiting in town or in the "jungles" while holding out for higher wages is a poor policy. This tends to keep the organized men on the "bum" while the unorganized do nothing to improve conditions. The place to take action is *on the job*, and it is the only way to get results. Other tactics that are harmful are soap-boxing by ignorant or inexperienced members and throwing unorganized workers off freight trains. This causes hard feelings

against the I. W. W. that is felt in other industries. We are out for 100 per cent organization, but we must keep the issues of the big struggle constantly in mind and use judgement and foresight.

Tactics that have proved most successful are: *take out organizer's credentials* at the "doing wages"; line up as many as possible of the crew and then make demands if the conditions are not what they should be. The "slowing down" process will be found of great help where employers are obstinate. Small employers can usually be brought to time by small strikes, but strikes against large employers must be on a large scale to be effective. For instance, men employed on the farm are in a position to strike successfully against the individual employer, but where the farms are large and industrialized it is necessary to have concerted action on a large scale. Organized Workers on the job should keep in touch with one another at all times and with the Branch office as well. Jobs should be located in the union hall or job bulletin in preference to any other places. Students wishing more thoroughly to investigate Social Science are urged to read "Shop Talks on Economics" by Mary Marcy, "The Origin of the Family" by Frederick Engels, "The Evolution of Property" by Paul LaFargue, "The Ancient Lowly" by J. Osborn Ward and "Ancient Society" by Lewis H. Morgan. These books are for sale by the Charles H. Kerr Company of Chicago.

ORGANIZATION FOR EMANCIPATION

ORGANIZATION!

This is the magic word. It has changed conditions on many a rotten job. It has enabled thousands to gain *shorter hours*. And shorter hours mean longer life, less exploitation and fewer unemployed. It has enabled many a harvest worker to gain a winter stake and keep the wolves of hunger at a distance throughout the long, cold months of winter. Organization—the magic word—makes men out of slaves, dollars out of dimes, prosperity out of privation and hope out of despair. Organization means strength, security and manhood. Lack of organization means helplessness, uncertainty and industrial serfdom.

Think it over and decide for yourself.

For years the men who gather the crops of the nation have struggled to secure better conditions, shorter hours and more wages. For years they have fought to build up an ORGANIZATION that could help to put an end to the hideous nightmare of wage-slavery and make the working class free from the yoke of capitalism. These men have fought a hard fight. They have been persecuted, jailed and lied about just as workers are everywhere are jailed, persecuted and lied about whenever they band together in industry to *compel* the masters of bread to yield to Labor a greater share of what Labor produces.

The men who helped to organize the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the Industrial Workers of the World have born the brunt of the battle. They made these sacrifices

willingly and gladly, not only for themselves, but for ALL workers whose fate it is to toil in the harvest fields. They endured this terrible ordeal that YOU, Mr. Unorganized Harvest Worker might be able to enjoy more of the good things of life. They did this because the alternative was too horrible to contemplate. Conditions forced the union agricultural workers to choose between *organization* and *power*—between *solidarity* and *slavery*. They had the back bone to stick and the result is the union is stronger today than ever before. The A. W. I. U. has survived the most savage persecution because its membership had the courage to stand firm in the face of injustice and unbridled greed. The master class has never conceded anything out of the kindness of their hearts. In the harvest fields, as elsewhere, Labor GETS and KEEPS only what it has the power to TAKE.

And don't forget this: All the benefits you reap—all the favorable conditions you enjoy—are the result of the efforts and sacrifices of the men who built up this UNION—the MEMBERS of this UNION who are working around you in the harvest fields today. Don't be the kind of a fellow that will enjoy the good things other men have achieved without giving anything in return. It is to your interest to join the union and STICK until the world is made safe for labor. The right to organize is an inherent right. It is the right of men to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. "No one can justly or constitutionally abrogate this right. ORGANIZATION is the magic word. The A. W. I. U. takes this opportunity of appealing to your intelligence and loyalty to Labor.

Be a man! The struggle is not yet over. Take your stand with the Powers of Light against the Powers of Darkness. There is no middle ground. Don't hesitate. Every worker with red blood in his veins ought to have a Red Card in his pocket. Labor is facing the sunrise of Emancipation. Don't be a stumbling block on the road of Progress. The final battle of the ages is here. Join hands with the revolutionary I. W. W. and fight to bring about the happy Commonwealth of Toil that is to be.

"There amidst the world new-built will our earthly deeds
abide
Though our names be all forgotten and the tale of how we
died."

For further information and literature see nearest I. W. W. delegate or write to Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago.

The Socialization of Agriculture in Russia.

By V. VASILIEV.

(From "Soviet Russia", May 15, 1920)

The Soviet Government convened, in December, 1918, an All-Russian Congress of the rural committees of poor peasants, and of the agricultural communes, a congress which elaborated a project of a fundamental law on socialistic land organization. On the basis of that project, the Soviet Government promulgated, on February 14, 1919, its most important agrarian law—the very comprehensive "Decree on Socialistic Land Organization, and the Transition to Socialistic Agriculture," which established the basic Soviet policy in the socialization of agriculture. This decree has been in effect up to the present time. Its essential features are as follows:

First of all, the decree emphasizes that all the land constitutes a single national reserve, under the administration of the appropriate people's commissariats and local Soviet institutions. The decree acknowledges, for the ends of socialization, the necessity of the organization of large Soviet economies, agricultural communes, collective tillage, and other phases of the collective utilization of land. From individual use there are entirely excluded, except in extraordinary cases, all the lands which at the time of the promulgation of the decree, were not allotted to the individual rural households, and, in particular, the lands upon which there have already been or are to be organized the above-mentioned collective forms of agriculture, or the lands with rural industrial enterprises, experimental stations, experimental fields, and other agricultural-educational establishments.

All the work on the socialistic land organization is to be conducted by the county and provincial land departments (composed of representatives of the Soviet Government and of various labor and peasants' organizations), under the supreme guidance of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

The decree contemplates the Soviet estates as model agricultural enterprises, purposing to get out of them the maximum of productiveness, and to make them serve as large agronomic centers of agricultural instruction for the surrounding peasantry. For the Soviet estates are particularly designated and reserved: the former private highly cultivated large economies; estates with granaries, orchards, vineyards; tea, tobacco and beet plantations; with complicated technico-agricultural arrangements (cheese factories, butter-shops, dairies, corn-mills, wine-producing plants); with highly developed stock-farming; with rural industrial enterprises (agricultural repair shops, etc.); and with ponds and lakes for fish-breeding.

For the ends of agricultural instruction the decree provides for the organization on the Soviet estates, of experimental stations, experimental fields, workshops, agricultural courses and exhibitions, agricultural schools, libraries, museums, theatres and other cultural institutions.

The Soviet estates are placed under the supreme authority of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, and locally their affairs are directed by special provincial, regional and local boards of the Soviet estates. The technical and administrative business of each separate estate is conducted by a steward-specialist or by a council, appointed by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the corresponding provincial board. A labor committee elected by the laborers of the estate from their own ranks regulates the internal arrangement of the work and supervises the economic and sanitary conditions of the life of the laborers.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

■ ■ ■

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The I. W. W. IN THEORY & PRACTICE



JUSTUS EBERT

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